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# South and East Asia Report

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8 December 1982

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FRETILIN DELEGATION SECRETARY IN MOZAMBIQUE INTERVIEWED

Beira DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE in Portuguese 15 Oct 82 pp 8-9

[Report on interview with Mahafut Baziher, secretary of the FRETILIN delegation in Maputo, date and place not specified]

[Text] The East Timor issue is once again on the agenda of the international organizations. At this time when the annual session of the UN General Assembly has begun, and bearing in mind that between 25 October and early November the Timor "dossier" will be in the news, our reporters interviewed FRETILIN delegation secretary Mahafut Baziher so that we might inform our readers of the reasons, the roots and the prospects for the future of the Maubere people's struggle.

On 28 November 1975, in the territory of East Timor, FRETILIN proclaimed the independence of the island of Timor, which for several centuries had been a Portuguese colony. This was a day of celebration, a celebration which became, a little more than a week later, an affirmation of the courage of a people of some 1 million individuals.

On the 9th day after the birth of East Timor as an independent country, while the Timorese were still celebrating their freedom from Portuguese colonialism, the elite forces of Indonesia's President Suharto invaded the country by land, sea and air. In little more than a week, Dili and many other Timorese cities were in the hands of the Djakarta Government troops and the Timorese flag was hauled down, replaced by the flag of Indonesia. Residents of the zones taken by force were obliged to shout at the top of their lungs that half the island of Timor (which forms the Republic of East Timor) "accepted annexation to the territory of Indonesia." According to Djakarta, this position was even ratified by the "popular will." On the day "our flag was raised, they waved small banners," replicas of the flag of Indonesia. It was not mentioned, however, that these Timorese were forced to make a display of love for the symbol of the Indonesian nation. Nor was it reported that many FRETILIN members and people of Timor were executed for opposing the imposition of Suharto's sovereignty over East Timor. An illustration of their rejection of this domination was the heroism of the leader of the OPMT (Popular Organization of Timorese Women), who was killed as she was preparing to flee from Dili to the mountains, where the FRETILIN guerrillas had established their general quarters.

The large international news agencies withheld this part of the facts about the Indonesian invasion of East Timor, while they filled many newspaper columns and used up rolls of TELEX tape with Suharto's explanation that "historically, East Timor is a part of Indonesian territory."

This justification does not convince anyone. One need only refer to the Indonesian constitution, which states: "The territory of Indonesia comprises the various Indonesian islands, excluding the Portuguese section of the island of Timor." It could be added that when Indonesia was under Dutch rule (hence colonized by the Netherlands), Timor was then a Portuguese colony and not included in the Dutch colonization. At that time Portugal had not only colonized part of the island of Timor but also the island of Flores. For strategic reasons, under the terms of the treaty between Portugal and the Netherlands, the island of Flores was traded for part of the island of Timor; that is, the island of Flores came under Dutch rule and the Portuguese received another segment of the territory of the island of Timor.

Even at that time, Portugal's sovereignty over Timor was not challenged. Therefore, there was implicit recognition of the existence of a country--East Timor--which was a colony.

#### Contradictory Explanation

Now Suharto says that if it were not FRELIMO which was fighting for the sovereignty of Timor--if, for example, it were the UDT (Timorese Democratic Union, which had demanded Timorese federation with Portugal during the Portuguese colonial period)--then independence might be considered a possibility.

To say in this way that Timor's independence would be a possibility if it were not the FRELIMO movement which was struggling for it is the same as saying that it is not independence which is at issue in Timor's case, but what kind of independence the Maubere people desire. Suharto does not fear Timorese independence; what he fears is the consequences of having a progressive regime on his border.

Mahafut Baziher, secretary of the FRETILIN delegation in Maputo, went directly to the heart of the matter when he said: "The Indonesian Government fears communism, a new way of life which is emerging in East Timor in the very teeth of his some 30,000 well-trained troops."

#### Inside Indonesia

"To truly know your enemy and prepare for combat, you must know its history and its state of development. So I feel it is important for the newsmen to go into this aspect," Baziher pointed out during our conversation.

Let us go back to the period of Indonesia's colonization. When the Dutch arrived in this Asian (or better, Pacific) zone, they settled mainly on the island of Java because it was the most fertile and suitable for raising cattle, an old specialty of the Dutch. It was on this island that the Dutch established most of their economic, political and administrative

infrastructures. Later the administrators moved to other islands of the country: Sumatra, Borneo ["Gorneus?"] and others. In most cases these administrators were not Dutch, but natives of the island of Java.

As years passed, it happened that whereas the island of Java became a small Dutch metropolis in the region, the other islands remained primitive and unexplored.

When it rose to independence, Indonesia was already divided into Java, on one hand, and the remaining islands, on the other.

"The Indonesians themselves say openly that they are being colonized by the Javanese. You see, there are Indonesians on the other islands who have never even seen a white man. In these regions, the white man was represented by the Javanese, who in colonial times was the representative of power. This complex regarding the Javanese colonization of the other islands is still felt by other Indonesians today. It is still alive," Baziher said.

The situation has meant that Indonesia is completely divided. There is no unified power; there is a stratification of power.

To the natives of the other islands, who are not Javanese, the struggle of the Timorese people is just, "because not even the Indonesians accept Javanese colonization, and certainly we, who are not Indonesians, cannot tolerate it," added the FRETILIN representative.

In this segment of the Indonesian population, which represents a large number of Indonesians, the Timorese cause is just.

"This is Indonesia's situation, politically. Economically, things are even worse; suffice it to say that the country owes between \$3 billion and \$4 billion to the IMF and the World Bank, not counting the countries friendly to the Suharto dictatorship," Baziher pointed out.

"Because of the economic crisis which Indonesia is experiencing, aggravated by the current expenses of the war against FRETILIN, children of a tender age are turning to prostitution and banditry to survive. It is not by accident that Indonesia has the highest rate of juvenile delinquency.

"About 40 to 45 percent of the Indonesian population is unemployed. Children (boys and girls alike) who are born to these jobless people are obliged to live any way they can, and obviously they are turning to crime or prostitution," added the FRETILIN secretary.

#### Imperialist Strategy

In light of all these problems, and bearing in mind that Suharto himself is already bloodstained, world imperialism is attempting a new tack to quiet the Indonesian opposition and still the outcries of the international community.



In a first phase, Suharto has prohibited the execution of captured Maubere troops. They are simply deported to the island which faces Timor, in Maubere territory, where they are subjected to the most degrading humiliation.

"It is possible that, within a short time, world imperialism will remove Suharto from power and turn it over to General Yussef, who has the cleanest hands," Baziher said.

#### Suharto Beaten on Battlefield

"Once you know a little about the history of Indonesia, you can see how the Timorese people have managed to survive in the face of Suharto's 80,000 soldiers. We have the support, albeit only moral support, of the Indonesians themselves and of most of the countries of the international community. Over 20 countries have already recognized us. For this reason, Djakarta's suicidal military operations do not intimidate us," he declared.

Near the end of last year, in a period of about 3 months Suharto announced two major military operations against the Maubere people: "Operation Security" and "Operation Joelho." The latter was characterized by the advance of troops to the border demarcation of the Indonesian part of Timor. Advancing in a straight line, with only the space of one knee "Joelho" between them, they were to eliminate all the guerrillas from the island. The operation was even extended to the other part of the island (the eastern part, which is Maubere territory), but the guerrillas continued to attack, and when the rainy season (which is 8 or 9 months long) arrived, the guerrilla warfare intensified.

This resistance astonished the international community. It was open-mouthed with wonder that the Maubere people had survived.

"The fact is that, against all Suharto's plans, we managed to survive and to reappear in force. This victory demonstrated, moreover, that we are prepared to fight until the invading forces capitulate," Baziher added.

"At this time the Indonesian invasion forces control only 20 percent of Timorese territory. With a total of 80,000 men, they occupy only Dili, the second largest city and the coastal zone. They do not venture into the mountain zone because here the Maubere guerrillas are lords of the land (which they know like the back of their hands), and under these conditions the Timorese would win any battle before it began.

In these mountains (remember that most of the territory of Timor is formed by a chain of mountains, with their highest point in Ramelau, at an altitude of about 3,000 meters) are located the general quarters of the Maubere nationalist forces.

Even using tanks and well-trained troops in operations of the "Joelho" type, the Indonesians cannot dislodge the guerrillas from their stronghold.

It is in these mountains that one finds the real Democratic Republic of East Timor. The government are installed there, since the capital is occupied by the invasion forces. In these mountains is found the type of life that Suharto fears, a democratic way of life, the first phase in a country that wishes to eliminate the exploitation of men and dependence on the great international monopolies.

In these mountains are found the ministries that determine the productive, political and military life of the Maubere people. Here is the FRETILIN armory, the stock of weapons which the front managed to move from Dili.

"In terms of weapons, we will not have problems very soon, because the Portuguese kept their armories in Dili crammed with weapons. They never needed them because we never had an armed struggle for liberation from colonialism. They were seldom used except to put down some popular uprisings that were quickly snuffed out. These weapons, which were stored in the capital, were evacuated to the mountains even before independence was proclaimed because we already knew we would be invaded. Hence, when Suharto's troops arrived in Dili the arms depots were almost empty," explained the FRETILIN representative.

#### Portugal and the Timor Problem

Some months ago, Portugal decided to form a commission to analyze and try to arrive at a solution to the East Timor problem.

"The fact that Portugal recognized that it must come to grips with the East Timor issue, because the Portuguese (the Portuguese authorities) are partly to blame for the state of conflict on the island, demonstrates that the pressure from FRETILIN and the international community has had some effect," our respondent asserted.

Actually, to recognize that Portugal has taken it upon itself to try to settle issue of East Timor's sovereignty, it is enough to say that the new constitution states that "East Timor is still a part of Portugal." If East Timor is still part of Portugal, this implies that Portugal recognizes that it is being attacked by the Indonesians. And if it is being attacked, then it will do what is possible to fight against this aggression.

Since the commission on East Timor was created, there have already been several trips to countries to urge these nations to recognize East Timor as a country. Australia was one of the countries visited by the commission.

"We have not yet had a favorable response from the government of Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser, but we are hopeful that Australia's position will change, because it is almost certain that the next elections will be won by members of the Labor Party. If so, perhaps Australia will modify its position," said Baziher.

There are hopes that the meeting of the UN General Assembly, now in session in New York City, will produce something new.

"It is very possible that the issue of our independence is going forward a little, because this will be the first time that Portugal will acknowledge the existence of East Timor as a country before such a high international body. This in itself represents a great victory. We hope to have other victories, however. What can be said immediately is that Timor will be a hot issue for discussion," Baziher added in this regard.

#### Hesitation of the Nonaligned Movement

Indonesia, as a full member of the Movement of Nonaligned Countries, cannot plan an invasion of East Timor. It should be noted that Indonesia was one of the founders of the Nonaligned Movement. At that time, President Sukarno, first chief of the Indonesian state, was in power.

Among the principles that govern the policy of nonalignment, two important aspects stand out: a member country must never interfere in the internal affairs of another, and it must not use force to settle differences with other nations. Although East Timor is not a full member, it has the right to attend meetings of the movement as an observer.

In what appears to be a deviation from this line of conduct by the nonaligned nations, no strong stand or any reprisal or censure has been forthcoming against Indonesia. Why?

"We must remember that Indonesia is a founding member of the nonaligned movement, that not all the countries in the movement are progressive and that the progressive members of the organization are not free to act as they might wish. If our problem has not yet been thrashed out in a nonaligned summit meeting, it is not because the progressive countries do not feel this is really a problem affecting thousands of people; it is because there are impediments. There are countries in the movement which consider us to be a country, but this group of countries does not represent a majority in the movement. We have friends in the nonaligned movement, but we also have enemies," Baziher concluded.

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CSO: 3442/43

KAMPUCHEA

SIHANOUK SISTER DISCUSSES PRINCE'S ROLE, SUPPORTS PRK

Bangkok KHAO CHATURAT in Thai 18 Oct 82 pp 43-45

[Article by Wachara Wethatharang: "A Meeting With Sihanouk's Sister"]

[Text] She is a tall woman with tan skin and big eyes. She is over 30 years old. She speaks French so well that it is said that if you could not see that she was Kampuchean, you would think that it was a Frenchman speaking. She used to spend her life travelling around Europe when things were still peaceful in Kampuchea. She is knowledgeable and experienced like a modern woman who is smart and energetic.

She is really one of the members of Kampuchea's royal family.

Now, she signs her name Sisowath Sawetwong Monivong, or Lola as she is called.

"Our family has two lines, the Norodom and the Monivong lines," she explained. A person close to her explained that she is the real sister of Prince Norodom Sihanouk. When talking about her brother, she said that "he calls me Lola. To this day, he has never called me by my real name, or he never knew my real name. He has always called me Lola."

Most of the more than 200 members of the royal family of Norodom Sihanouk were killed by Pol Pot-Ieng Sary after they seized power. She and her father-in-law were sent to a commune in Battambang. All those sent there were killed; she was last in line to be executed. It turned out that one of the soldiers of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary learned the truth and took pity on her. He helped her to flee and disguise herself and so she was able to survive until the country was liberated by Vietnamese and Heng Samrin forces.

As for her present position, she is a member of the Central Committee of the Kampuchean People's Revolutionary Committee, or the Kampuchean Communist Party. She is also the vice president of the National Council and the vice president of the Kampuchean-Cuban Friendship Association.

"I will not go anywhere outside my homeland," she said in French. "My people need help from all Kampucheans. I cannot leave them."

"But why did Norodom Sihanouk leave?" asked Chaturat.

"He is probably too old," she replied, smiling as if she had no other answer to give except to say enigmatically that "he probably thinks like an old person."

"In your view, does he have any hope of returning to power in Kampuchea as he thinks?" asked Chaturat.

"If he returns like a Kampuchean who is for the Kampuchean people, there is probably a way for him to return. Our country needs the help of all Kampucheans who will work for the Kampuchean people," she said sharply and clearly. "In Laos, Prince Souvanna Phouma once headed a right-wing government. When the revolutionary party won and took control of Laos, he remained in Vientiane and worked for the Lao people. I do not see anything strange about that. He is a prince too."

She speaks simply, quickly and frankly. Inside the spacious reception hall of the former French governor's residence, Lola, or Sisowath Sawetwong Monivong, talked to us about the situation in Kampuchea like a knowledgeable person who has great confidence.

"Our views on the Kampuchean problem today are different," she replied when asked about the formation of the Khmer Coalition Government and the goals of this government that does not yet have a definite base. "They think that they will fight us and destroy those of us who are starting a new life. But we do not think like that. Let them do what they can. Our problems concern our internal situation. [We are concerned with] our people's living conditions and the degree of unity. This is the period in which we are starting to build unity. The suffering and pain that we have all suffered is the thing that will enable us to unite in the struggle. Thus, we don't care what those outside think of us."

"Do you think anything will happen if the new government formed by Prince Sihanouk maintains its seat in the United Nations for another year this September?" asked Chaturat.

Smiling sweetly, she laughed as she replied: "Did anything happen to China during the 20 years that China was not a member of the United Nations?"

Just as with other Kampuchean intellectuals with whom we talked, when we raised the issue of the seat in the United Nations, she mentioned China and its struggle, which is the same as that of Kampuchea today. But in the end, even though it took 20 years, China never lost anything or suffered anything by not having a seat in the United Nations. And when the time came, many people went to Peking to pay tribute to China and offered China a seat in the United Nations.

Kampuchea is in the same position China was in 20 years ago. There is nothing important about the seat in the United Nations. "Kampuchea's survival depends on the Kampuchean people in the country. The United Nations has never decided the survival of anyone. These days, talk about the United Nations is for us

just a matter of performing a dance. When the instruments start playing, we come out to dance. But afterwards we go and change our clothes and then go back to work as normal."

The interview was like an informal conversation and exchange of ideas about various problems. When we touched on the matter of how long Vietnamese troops would remain in Kampuchea, she responded like other Kampucheans. She would only say that "at present, there are few problems. They can withdraw any time they want. But why should Vietnam have to withdraw when the United States still has 100,000 troops stationed in Europe and 40,000 troops stationed in South Korea? In Lebanon, Israel has still not withdrawn its forces. Why should anyone be upset over Vietnamese troops being in Kampuchea since we asked them to come in? "

This is the response that has frequently been given by North Vietnam. And we have heard this many times from Kampuchean leaders at various echelons. The fact that everyone has confirmed is the same: "This is not the first time that Vietnam has come into Kampuchea. The first time was during the war against the French imperialists. We asked Vietnam to come help. During the [take over by] Pol Pot-Ieng Sary, Vietnamese units were the first units to enter Phnom Penh. This is the third time that Vietnam has come to help the Kampuchean people. They have come this time to help drive out Pol Pot-Ieng Sary. Each time, they have come just to help the Kampuchean people. Why didn't anyone criticize them the first and second times? Why are they guilty of something evil only this third time? The Vietnamese soldiers are helping the 3 million people here. They are helping in many ways. They are even providing the thread and needles that we lack."

She is a member of the Khmer royal family who is held in high esteem by the Kampuchean people who still believe in spirits and in the merit of people. But in talking with her about the country's problems, she seems like an ordinary person, or like a politician who knows at least as much about the problems in the present situation as other politicians in Southeast Asia. And she probably knows more than those petty politicians who have attached themselves to certain people and gained power in the various countries at present.

She said that the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea is not an important problem since a Kampuchean army has now been formed and trained. It can handle the problems inside the country. But how long Vietnamese troops remain in the country depends on the situation along the Thai border. As long as the coalition government of Sihanouk and, in particular, the opposition forces of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary continue to receive support and live in Thailand, the Kampuchean people certainly have the right to defend themselves by asking friendly countries to come provide help. She said forcefully that:

"This is in accord with Article 151 of the U.N. constitution. Each country has the right to ask friendly countries for help if it is invaded. The Vietnamese troops could all be withdrawn today. But tomorrow, if we learned that we were going to be threatened and could not survive, we would have to ask Vietnam to come help again. Or if we were threatened by China during the next

3 to 5 years, we would have to ask friendly countries for help again. What is strange about whether they are withdrawn or not?"

At present, in the view of most Kampuchians, there would be no problem if the Vietnamese troops were withdrawn. They believe that withdrawing or not withdrawing the troops is just the end-point of the problem.

"But in Thailand or Asia, we feel that the troop withdrawal is the most important problem. The United Nations has issued a resolution to serve as a basis....," said Chaturat.

"Then why don't you talk to Vietnam and our government directly?" she said somewhat angrily. "Why should we be threatened and pressured to do this and that in accord with the wishes of those countries? It is our problem and a matter of our survival. When millions of us were dying, why didn't anyone say anything about what was right? If we told the United States to withdraw its troops from South Korea, if we told Indonesia to withdraw its forces from East Timor, if we told China to return territory to India and to give Tibet its independence or if we told Israel to withdraw its forces from Lebanon and stop killing people, what would be the response? We have the right to say such things since we are humans too and we know that none of these things are right. But we have not said anything. People's affairs are their own business. We have the right to live just as do Thais and other people."

Kampuchea today has changed much more than would have been expected. This small woman from the old Khmer royal family, of which only two are now left from the more than 200 who were in Phnom Penh when the socialist civilization of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary was built, is now an ordinary citizen who can talk about politics and national affairs intelligently and who is ready to cooperate fully with the new government of Kampuchea. Regardless of whether it is called a communist or socialist government or something else, her most important aim is to join in for the sake of the Kampuchean people and her beloved country.

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CSO: 4207/20

STUDENT DESCRIBES WORK, STUDY IN CSSR

Vientiane NOUM LAO in Lao 15-30 Aug 82 p 13

[Interview of Lao Student in Czechoslovakia by Viset Savengsukva, date and place not given]

[Text] The wind of the Eleventh Assembly of the World Federation of Democratic Youth in Prague, the capital city, carried NOUM LAO reporters to meet Comrade Bounpheng Philavong, a youth of 27 years, and the secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Youth Union in Czechoslovakia. It was a meeting on the ideology and working session because Comrade Bounpheng was occupied with the delegation of the LPRYU from the day of the opening assembly until the closing day. NOUM LAO took this opportunity to interview him.

NOUM LAO: I would like to know your specialized task and the academic year you are studying in.

Answer: I am in the 4th year of medical science and health in Karlova University in Prague.

NOUM LAO: What led you to study this subject?

Answer: Basically my love for it and its importance are the primary reasons. I can see the need for this subject in the actual situation in our country at the present time. Because of this love and the need for it I believe I will be able to apply this specialized task efficiently.

NOUM LAO: And how about the difficulties and conveniences you and your friends have?

Answer: When we first arrived all of us were ignorant of the language. Thus the battlefield that was considered the most fierce and confusing was to liberate ourselves from this. We did not fight alone--we got all kinds of help both from inside our organization and from host country teachers and friends. This was helpful.

NOUM LAO: Please tell us the details concerning the urgent concerns of the LPRYU unit in Czechoslovakia in the future.

Answer: There are altogether 334 students of all levels and all fields of



study. They are divided into 31 groups and distributed in 22 cities. This is considered a fair amount of students. Our priority is to organize and lead the process in 3 main directions: to organize and press forward in the learning process, to train ourselves to have revolutionary ideals, and to carry out the actual work.

NOUM LAO: Is it possible to tell us the details of the movement?

Answer: The movement is outside the school curriculum. This includes working, participating in arts and literature, and joining the important celebrations. Each month our vocational students work in order to earn money for savings and to join the solidarity saving in order to help other countries. During the school vacation every year more than 60 of us volunteer to work.

In the past two years the LPRYU was accepted to join the counterpart Youth Union in socialist Czechoslovakia. The chain of relationships between our Youth Union and the host Youth Union organization is very firm in all aspects.

NOUM LAO: Do you hear from home regularly?

Answer: I want to say not very often; however, we have learned resolution No 8 very well and carry out the first Five Year Plan in the area we are responsible for. We follow and implement the resolution of the Third Party Congress of the LPRP. Now our Youth Union is actively carrying out the three solidarity and four offensive [emulation] aiming to score achievements to greet the first congress of this coming LPRYU.

At the end of 1980 each group of our Youth Union all over Czechoslovakia had earned as much as Kcs 15,000. Of this we bought Kcs 7700 worth of indispensable materials to give to the central LPRYU. The rest of the money will be kept for future assistance.

NOUM LAO: Is there anything to send back as a remembrance with NOUM LAO to the Lao Youth Union and the people of Laos?

Answer: Our love and pledge to score achievements in the studies of all Lao students in Czechoslovakia, and congratulations to the Youth Union in our country who emulate each other to score new and better achievements.

NOUM LAO: What is your motto?

Answer: Patience, and making sacrifices for work that is an outstanding example for the organization.

9884

CSO: 4206/14

# VIENTIANE WOMEN'S ASSOCIATION PARTY ORGANIZER PROFILED

Vientiane MEGNING LAO in Lao Aug 82 p 8

[Article by Vieng Sum: "Comrade Sommai Vongnakhon, Vientiane Capital Representative Who Attended the Third Party Congress"]

[Excerpt] Comrade Sommai Vongnakhon, 43 years old this year, is a daughter of Dong Bung Village, Dong Bung Canton, Saithani District, Vientiane Capital.

Before, Miss Sommai was well known as one of the roses of Dong Bung Village which is only 26 km from Vientiane Capital. Each weekend young military men and low and high-level government officials came to court her. But because she was trained in mobilizing cadres of the Lao Issara [Free Lao Front] she steadily increased the revolutionary awakening. She was not infatuated with her personal happiness in the false civilization of the old and new colonialism.

In 1954 she joined the revolutionary movement by putting herself into the political struggle. She used the power of her voice, her beautiful eyes, and white complexion as a means to mobilize enemy soldiers. Whenever she spoke to any military men they had to listen without talking back because her words carried all new terms and new issues that had not been heard before. After each talk with the "honorable" brothers she was able to grasp the situation which she then reported to the Free Lao Front soldiers in the jungle.

In 1960 she left her home to live in south Vientiane and Vang Vieng Districts. Her primary responsibility this time was to mobilize the people to engage in legal and quasi-legal struggles in order to cooperate with the struggle on the military front. After the mobilization work she not only participated in improving the base area organization, but was changed from Miss Sommai, one of the masses, to Comrade Sommai, and she was very trusted by the people and her colleagues.

Later on she was sent for training at the central echelon. After that she had a chance to work in a broader area nationwide. Wherever she went she correctly adjusted herself to be the beloved daughter of the people in that locality according to the saying, "if she wasn't there people look for her. If she does not come the people miss her."

After her marriage, when because of her children and the war situation she could not do her former work, she volunteered to do all kinds of jobs no matter whether

it was low or high level work. For example:

--1966-1967 she was a cook in the political theory school of the party central committee in Hang Long Cave (Sam Neua);

--1968-1974 she was a management cadre in the 12-10 Textile Factory in Ban Loei (Soy District, Houa Phan Province);

--1975, after the seizing of power nationwide, she was put to work in mobilizing and organizing the Lao Patriotic Women's Association of Vientiane Capital.

Now she has been appointed to the party committee and also as the chief of the mobilizing committee to set up the Lao Patriotic Women's Association with honor.

9884

CSO: 4206/14

# NORTHERN DISTRICT CHIEF DESCRIBES SECURITY, MARKET PRICES

Vientiane SIANG PASASON in Lao 1 Oct 82 pp 3, 4

[Article by B. Kongmali Souliyavong: "Sing District, the Land That Confronts the Chinese Reactionaries"]

[Text] Sing District is in the northern region of Laos. It is in the north of Louang Namtha Province bordering China for 90 km and bordering Burma for 50 km. Its total area is 10,000 square km and is divided into 7 cantons, 93 villages, and 3273 families. The total population is 17,388 people, including 2 major nationalities: Lao Loum and Lao Soung. It is also divided into 5 races: Ko, Thai Neua, Yao, Leu, and Lao Theung.

The Sing District people have a heritage of diligence, persistence, and courage. They make their living by engaging in highland rice farming, paddy rice farming, and gardening. Every Sunday morning in particular these people of all races bring their produce to happily exchange with each other in the market as if it were a land which no longer has any enemies to cause trouble. However, deep within the Sing people's hearts they are alert and ready to fight to protect and resist all invasions of the Beijing reactionaries who have been sabotaging the peace along that border all along.

Comrade Mai Peng, secretary of the district party committee, told us that after the Chinese reactionaries had invaded the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in 1979, China announced itself as the enemy of the LPDR. They propagandized that if China did not help the Lao people in the 5 northern provinces, after only 3 years the people would starve to death. Meanwhile they agitate and threaten the lives and the building up of Sing District. From 1979 to now it is already 3 years, but the Sing District people cannot see any signs of food shortage or starvation as the Chinese propagandized. Instead, the people of all races have abundant food. Chinese people along the border come to ask to exchange rice with the Sing District people every day. Also, they have announced that now China has new friends such as the US, England, and Japan. What is worse is that they show their military forces. For example, on 17 August 1979 they sent their soldiers to attack our people who were protecting the border, and captured 15 combatants and burned the Lao border outpost. Starting from 1980 to 1981 when they could not use military strategy effectively they turned to use the economy. They sent in goods to sell [at auction] to the Lao people. Sometimes they gave souvenirs to cadres, guerrillas, and Youth Union, hoping to

bribe them, but our people returned the gifts to the border. They mobilized the Chinese people to come to stubbornly engage in highland farming, paddy rice farming, gardening, and cutting down trees on Lao territory. On 11 May 1980 10 Chinese soldiers came in to move the border outpost deeper into Lao territory. Sometimes they sent troops up against the border to threaten the lives and to sabotage the peace of the people. Moreover, they also propagandized to break up the harmony between the races in order to create misunderstanding, and to break up Lao-Vietnam and Lao-Soviet solidarity, and many other tricks.

However, everything they created was resisted and defeated as it deserved from the Sing District people who are always alert and who promote a revolutionary spirit that is full of patriotism, and who bravely fight and are able to defeat the evil acts all along. The Sing District people always clearly know their true evil intentions.

On the beloved fatherland of the people in Sing District they will absolutely not let any enemies agitate confusion. They are alert and ever ready to punish those who deserve it. In the past the people in Sing District captured 58 enemies who sneaked in to spy. This included 21 Chinese reactionaries along with a number of weapons.

Along with protecting the nation, they raise the spirit of being ever ready to fight against all invasions. The people of Sing District are determinedly working to construct the economic base and to increase produce. They have now set up 17 agricultural co-op units all over the district; 40,000 hectares can be used for paddy rice farming. Now 2970 hectares have been cultivated. Meanwhile education, culture, and health services are steadily being improved and gradually expanded.

Even though Sing District is on the border confronting the Beijing reactionaries, their standard of living is abundant. Besides having rice to sell to the government, they also have tens of thousands of livestock for family consumption. In the Sing District market buffalo meat and beef are 15 kip per kg, pork is 20 kip per kg, and noodle soup is 1 kip per bowl.

Nowadays the people of Sing District are under the leadership of the provincial and district party central committee. The people of all nationalities and races are struggling to implement the resolution of the Third Party Congress to increase produce and to protect their homes forever.

9884

CSO: 4206/14

VIENTIANE FOOD SERVICE CORPORATION PROCUREMENT PRICES NOTED

Vientiane SIANG PASASON in Lao 7 Oct 82 p 2

[Article: "Struggle Aims of the Vientiane Food Service Corporation"]

[Text] Recently Mr Ngon Boumanda, the director of the Vientiane Food Service Corporation, told our reporters of the struggle of the Vientiane Food Service Corporation to supply food for Vientiane Capital.

The Vientiane Food Service Corporation was set up to raise the standard of living of cadres in the state administration and state enterprises in Vientiane Capital alone. Each day the Vientiane Food Service Corporation has some food, for example, approximately 150-200 kg of beef and buffalo meat, 450-500 kg of pork, and 2700 kg of lard. Two sections the unit distributes to are state enterprise and state administration. The source of our food nowadays, especially meat, is the Thansamai slaughter house. The Vientiane Food Service Corporation has 3 factories: the Thansamai slaughter house, the fish sauce and fermented fish factory, and the bread factory. The fish are from the Nam Ngum Fishing Company. Eggs are from many different places such as the Dong Dok chicken raising settlement, the Nong Hai chicken raising station, and also from private individuals.

Speaking only of eggs, the work is divided into purchase and distribution as follows: the eggs purchased from the Dong Dok [chicken] raising settlement are at a good price, 3 kip per egg, which we then sell at 3.5 kip per egg. This is the price at which we sell to cadres under state administration only. Eggs bought from other places at 3.8 kip per egg we then sell at 4.5 kip per egg for state enterprise cadres.

Concerning the distribution of pork, beef, and buffalo meat, we also have two prices: one price for state administrative units and another price for state enterprises. This is for all cadres and workers, no matter whether they have low or high income, so they may have an equal standard of living, and also to keep the capital circulating without losing too much money.

Mr Ngon Boumanda also told us that this corporation has set up a branch in the southern region, one in the central region, and two in the northern region. The work of these branches is to buy buffalo, beef, and pork from the people, then send them to supply the Thansamai slaughter house to strive to increase the meat supply to 1000 to 1500 kg per day. This is to respond to the resolution of the Third Party Congress concerning steadily raising the standard of living of cadres, government employees, and workers.

# PAGARO BLAMES MRD FOR ROUND TABLE POSTPONEMENT

Karachi DAWN in English 16 Nov 82 p 12

[Text]

The planned Round Table Conference of political parties was deferred indefinitely because the MRD's component parties insisted on a pre-RTC joint declaration, and Pir Pagaro, President of the defunct Pakistan Muslim League, refused to sign such a document in advance.

Talking to the newsmen at his Karachi residence, Pir Pagaro said that MRD's Secretary-General, Khwaja Khairuddin, came over to see him and confronted him (Pir Sahib) with a draft declaration and asked for his signature. Later, Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani, the RTC convener, also pressed for the same.

"I refused to sign on any declaration before the convening of the RTC. Nor did I care to look at it or to know who had drafted it", Pir Pagaro observed.

Actually, he pointed out, there was a marked difference in the approach of the participating parties towards the RTC. To him it meant a "get-together" of the party leaders wherein the policy statements of each party would have been exchanged. Time, then, would have been given for analysis of the various declarations and the RTC session re-convened to reach a consensus on the future course of action, he explained.

"The RTC was not to be convened for taking signatures; it was meant for the participating parties to come closer on the political plane. Besides, the idea of joint declaration was to me unacceptable", Pir Sahib maintained.

Some one suggested that the RTC had been "sabotaged". Pir

Pagaro, reacting sharply, said it was "absurd" to think of that and asked who would torpedo the move and what for? Nor did the Government score a point, as another correspondent thought.

Pir Sahib said the RTC was not proposed to pose a "threat" to anyone or to launch any sort of campaign. "It was meeting each other and getting familiarised with each other's point of view", he added.

The question of "debacle" did not arise because the RTC was not held, he told another questioner. However, he said the RTC will, Insha Allah, take place — an RTC to which besides others, all the registered parties would also be invited once their addresses were known.

He said it was at his insistence that invitations were sent to the defunct Jamaat-i-Islami and Gharib Awam Party. Maulana Noorani thought the JI leaders would "put hurdles in the way the RTC to which he replied it would not happen as "we all will be meeting to present our respective policy statements".

Answering other questions Pir Pagaro claimed that his was the only party (PML) which was "Islam-Passend" and that others were either sectarian or secular parties. He said the PML alone safeguards the interests of all sects in the country, while the sectarian parties only talked of their sect and promoted its interests to the exclusion of others.

Pir Pagaro termed secularism as a "virus" which, he said, was not to be found among the Muslim Leaguers.

With the Army the PML had a "common cause", Pir Sahib observed, explaining that while his party was the guardian of Pakistan's ideological frontiers, the Army was the custodian of Pakistan's territorial frontiers. He said he did not visualise any role for the Army but to defend the country.

With Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani, President of the defunct Jamiat-i-Ulema-e-Pakistan, and a partner in the PML-JUP Alliance, Pir Pagaro said he had had "some heart-searching talk" lately. He said: "Noorani Bhai and I are very good friends and I have always considered him as my own (brother). He, however, added that if the JUP thought of changing its policy "we, of the PML, will not be a hurdle in its way".

Pir Pagaro released to the Press a policy declaration on behalf of the PML which he wanted to circulate among other RTC participants for their appraisal.

The Pakistan Muslim League, in its policy statement, called for the

formation of a "political government" at the Centre and in the Provinces "with a clear mandate" to arrange for elections to the National and Provincial Assemblies "at the earliest" and to "surrender power" to the elected representatives.

The declaration further demanded the revival of political parties, resumption of full political activity and the lifting of Press censorship.

The declaration demands restoration of the 1973 Constitution as in force on Aug 14, 1973, with a proviso that necessary amendments be made to provide for balance of power between the President and the Prime Minister and between the Governors and the Chief Ministers on the pattern of the 1956 Constitution along with Act XLIX of 1974.

The PML's policy statement called for the restoration of the independence of superior judiciary and withdrawal of all laws and orders curtailing the judicial powers; constitutional protection to the civil servants.

CSO: 4200/130



## CONCILIATIONS COURTS PLANNED FOR SPEEDY, CHEAP JUSTICE

Karachi DAWN in English 18 Nov 82 pp 1, 4

[Excerpt]

Lt-Gen S.M. Abbasi, Governor of Sind, observed yesterday that the present legal system was full of flaws and repugnant to some of the Islamic laws, and added that the Government was keen to introduce an integrated legal system by which people could get cheap and speedy justice at their doorsteps.

The introduction of Panchayat system and the establishment of Conciliatory Courts in the province, to be followed by Qazi courts, were a step towards the integrated legal system, he said.

Inaugurating a two-day first Sind Conciliatory Courts conference at Liaquat Memorial Library Hall, organised by the KMC, the Governor said that some 2,303 Conciliatory Courts had been established in Sind.

He said the present Government, though not an elected one, had always endeavoured for public participation in development activities.

In this regard, he cited people's participation in the Hospital Management Boards, Cotton, Rice, Wheat and Fruit Boards, Water Users Associations, Road Safety Boards and District Safety Committee etc.

The Governor said that much more responsibility now lay on the shoulders of elected Councillors.

Referring to the existing judicial system, he said poor people did not get justice speedily because of the intricacies of law and non-availability of services of competent and seasoned lawyers.

In fact, the present system was more to the advantage of the rich, although there was no distinction between the poor and the rich in law, he said.

However, under the Conciliatory Courts system, the people could get their cases decided at local level without undergoing intricate and lengthy judicial procedures.

Gen. Abbasi said that the Government had already set up a body to review the laws which were repugnant to Islam.

He would lead a delegation to Rawalpindi-Lahore; while Mr Abdul Majeed Abid, Chairman of Divisional Committee (Hyderabad), would head a delegation to Lahore-Bahawalpur.

### Responsibility

Earlier, Mayor Abdus Sattar Afghani said that introduction of Conciliatory Courts would be an added responsibility for the 145 Councillors.

Cases up to the value of Rs 10,000 could be brought before these courts.

A working session began in which Mr Waqar Zahid, Chairman, Legal Affairs Committee of KMC, highlighted various aspects of the Conciliatory Courts, adding that it was a 'simple' system in which neither the Criminal Procedure Code nor the Evidence Act would apply. It would involve 'no writing' of evidence; lawyers were debarred from appearing; and other courts would not be allowed to rehear any case once taken up or decided. Conciliatory Courts were competent to grant compensation up to Rs 500 and take cognizance of the contempt of court as well, he said.

### Group discussion

Subsequently, a group discussion was held on "System of Conciliat-

dry Courts" in which the Deputy Mayor, Mr Yusuf Deda, Councillor Mrs Khanum Gohar Ejaz, Qazi Abdul Abid, Hyderabad Mayor Wasi Mazhar Nadvi participated. Mr Agha Shahabuddin acted as moderator.

Mayor Afghani, winding up the discussion demanded either an exclusive magistrate or any other measure to root out complaints of Councillors pertaining to Panchayat matters. Otherwise the Government plan to provide cheap justice would fizzle out, he said adding he had moved the authorities in this connection.

Mr Akhtar Ali Kazi, advocate and a member of Sind Council, said Conciliatory Courts would be a "powerful body" but their rules were of a technical nature and required study and training.

It was therefore imperative to gain public confidence for the success of the new system, he said.

The Sind Chief Secretary Mr M. Masud Zaman, said that Conciliation Courts would have important and far-reaching results and favourable effect on society.

He emphasised that an atmosphere of peace, tranquillity and harmony was needed for working towards progress and prosperity.

If local differences and problems were solved through conciliation Courts, an important breakthrough would be achieved towards this end, he added.

The inaugural session was attended, among others, by Sind Ministers, Mr Ashraf W. Tabani Mr Dost Mohammad Faizi, Mr Ghulam Mohammad Mehr, Begum Tazeen Fareedi, Mayors of Hyderabad and Sukkur.

### Today's programme

Mr Abdul Hayee Kureishi, Chief Justice of Sind High Court, will preside over a morning session; and Mr Fakhr Imam, Federal Minister for Local Bodies, will be chief guest. Mr Khalid M. Ishaq, an eminent lawyer, will speak on "Transfer of judicial powers to Local Bodies members." The closing session is to be addressed by Mr Muzaffar Hussain, Federal Secretary, Local Bodies.

CSO: 4200/131

## EXTENSIVE INDUSTRIAL INVESTMENT FOR NWFP PLANNED

Karachi DAWN in English 18 Nov 82 p 5

[Text]

PESHAWAR, Nov 17: The NWFP Finance and Industries Minister, Mr Salim Saifullah Khan, has said that the Industrial Development Bank of Pakistan, the Investment Corporation and other loaning agencies have sanctioned more than Rs. 4,000 million for industrial investment in NWFP during the last three years which was 16 per cent of the total investment sanctioned in Pakistan during this period.

In a Radio talk broadcast from Radio Pakistan on Sunday evening the Minister reviewing the industrial development of the province during the last four years, said that more than Rs. 1300 million was being invested annually on large and small scale industries in the province.

He said that the large scale industries including Dir Forest Complex, Haripur Urca fertiliser and Tarbella Cotton Mills which had already been completed at a cost of Rs 750 million and had already gone into production while the Kohat Cement Factory would be completed by the end of current year at a cost of Rs. 620 million.

He said that Sarhad Development Authority had also invested more than Rs. 600 million during the past few years in setting up a number of industrial units in vari-

ous parts of the province.

The Minister pointed out that it was the firm policy of the Government to encourage private investment which was essential for the speedy development of industrial sector, and as such, the SDA was working on a disinvestment policy and a number of its industrial units had already been disinvested while efforts were being made to transfer more units to other organisations. He said that this would enable SDA to raise funds for its future plans which included setting up of a sugar mills at D.I. Khan and a number of other units.

### Tax Holiday

Mr Salim Saifullah Khan said that the Government had already given tax holiday for five years and duty free import of machineries in most of the districts of the province to give incentive to private investment.

Besides this, he said, the related financial institutions had sanctioned huge amounts to the private parties for setting up new industries in the province.

He maintained that the Sarhad Development Authority had already finalised a plan for setting up

a dry port at Azakhel, about 18 miles from Peshawar which would soon be presented to the Provincial Cabinet.

This, he said, would extend a number of facilities to the traders and industrialists to run their export and import business.

### Small units

Referring to small scale industries the Minister described them as the important factor in the national economy and said that 85 per cent of industrial workers were attached with small industrial units which contributed 47 per cent of the total industrial production in the country.

He said that the NWFP Small Industries Development Board had set up a number of industrial estates in the province with required infrastructure and an amount of Rs. 15 million had been spent on seven industrial estates in the province so far.

Mr Salim Saifullah Khan said that the Provincial Government was giving top priority to vocational training and more than 600 persons were being trained in various industrial profession, he said. —APP.

CSO: 4200/131

# MINISTER SAYS POLITICAL CURBS TO GO GRADUALLY

Karachi DAWN in English 16 Nov 82 pp 1, 4

[Text] Islamabad, Nov 15--Mr Mahmoud A. Haroon, Federal Interior Minister, today said the restrictions on politics would be lifted gradually after knowing the mood of politicians as no country can live without politics.

However, he said, politics should be constructive, disciplined and based on fair intentions.

The Minister was talking to newsmen on Margella Hill top where he inaugurated a 50 kilometre road.

The Government, he said, never wanted to continue Martial Law and will not let any one create a situation which could again lead to Martial Law in the country. The present Government's intention he said was to strengthen the foundation of a house which could absorb earthquakes which often damaged the house severely as it happened in the past.

To a question, he said various Government agencies were actively busy working out the kind of political system needed for the country. Every country, he said, had its own political system according to its socio-economic and geographical background. The system to be introduced in Pakistan, he said will be based on Islamic values.

The Minister admitted the fact that Islamic system in Pakistan had not so far been fully implemented.

He lauded the past role of the Army and said those who demanded its return to barracks were mistaken. Army, he said, did not come from outside the border. Army Jawan was one of us and had equal rights to live with us. If their job was to defend the country they also had the right to enjoy life in the society during peace. The Minister said we are in the habit of giving bad names to every sector and faction of the society. This practice, he said has created disun-

ity among us which will not lead us anywhere.

When questioned about the detention of some political leaders, the Minister said their release would depend on their attitude. The provincial high-ups will set them free immediately after having assurance of constructive political activities by the detained leaders, he said.

The Minister said failure of the politicians to hold the proposed Round Table Conference was the result of their own differences. The Government, he said, had nothing to do with their failure.

The law and order situation in the country was completely under control, the Minister said. He hoped the situation caused by the lawyers' unrest will also be brought under control peacefully. The Government had a lot of regard for the lawyers, he added.

Asked if some Afghan refugees in Pakistan had any link with the subversive elements in the country, the Minister said the Government had not yet received any such information. He, however, said the matter was being examined by the concerned authorities.

## EVEN ADVISORY COUNCIL SHOWS DISSATISFACTION WITH ADMINISTRATION

Karachi JANG in Urdu 23 Oct 82 p 3

[Article by Irshad Ahmad Haqqani: "Current Situation of the Country; Views of the Advisory Council Members and Moderate Leaders"]

[Text] Last week, while opening the fourth session of the Federal Advisory Council, President Gen Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq used harsh language to warn those involved in disruption and terrorism. He said that the government would give them such punishment that it would be remembered by their descendants as well. Two days later, again addressing the Council, the federal minister of interior said that the real aim of the agitators and terrorists was not only to oppose the present rulers but to strike a blow at Islam and the ideology of Pakistan and that the country's ideological frontiers and carefully considered goals were their real targets. The government, under no circumstances, will let them succeed in their hateful intentions. The minister of interior also provided details on the steps the government is taking to stop the incidents of disruption. Later, during a special interview with the BBC, Pakistan's president made it clear that the object of his stern speech at the opening session was to encourage the Advisory Council's members and to restore the trust of the people. But the president and the interior minister rejected the argument that the recent incidents of disruption had any connection with the political situation in the country. They said that it was wrong to think that because there are restrictions on political activities in the country and the avenues for expressing differences of opinion are closed, the sectors having differences with the government were following the path of subversion and disruption. Disruption exists even in those countries where recognized political activities are permissible. In Pakistan, therefore, the aim of the people engaged in such activities is not to express political disagreement but to demolish the country's ideological foundations.

But this is the viewpoint of the officials in authority. The politicians hold a somewhat different opinion. Leaving aside the political leaders linked with MRD, even the political circles outside it do not fully agree with the above argument. In this regard, the reaction of Pir Pagara, leader of the defunct Muslim League's biggest group has come to the forefront more than once, and he has said that the incidents of disruption stem from the absence of normal political activities. For a while, however, forget Pir Pagara's view also. Come, let us see what the views of the members of the Advisory

Council itself are in this regard. The officials in authority do not have any suspicions regarding the motives and preferences of the members of the Advisory Council. Rather, to signify his unity with them, the president recently said that both of them shared the same fate. They would stay and leave together. Therefore, the views of the members of the Advisory Council can help us understand the feelings of the people with regard to the country's general situation and in particular the subversion.

After the interior minister's speech, most of the Advisory Council members exhibited a bitter tone on the subject under discussion. According to newspaper reports, a (female) member of the Advisory Council, Sabiha Shakil, said that the interior minister stated that 25 policemen had lost their lives in combating the subversives; they would have been shot while running and not while struggling with the subversives or terrorists, she said. The thieves and agitators have ammunition, while we are bound by the martial law regulations. Currently, the situation in the country is such that any woman who goes to the police station returns deprived of her honor. In other countries when crime becomes rampant, the president has to resign, to say nothing of the interior minister. Another member, Chaudhry Indris Taj said that there was no need to arrest the terrorists; they [Council members] were there to be offered up as sacrifices. Murders will continue and the government will go on getting stronger. He said that the members of the Advisory Council are just like the oxen pressing oil for a government that does not even appreciate their efforts. The interior minister has felt the need of holding a discussion on this matter after 5 years, when, for all that time he had held himself aloof. Mr Taj said: I asked one of my formers how he was feeling. He replied that all was well and God had graced him abundantly. I told him that despite being lame and deprived of sight in one eye, he was grateful to God. The same is true of our interior minister [everything seems fine to him]. Dr Nazir, Khwaja Rafiq and Zahurul Hasan Bhopali's murderers have not yet been apprehended. This is the way things go in our country.

Another member participating in the discussion, Mr Shafi Malik said that they could only pray that the preparations and steps mentioned by the interior minister in his speech might prove fruitful. Every citizen of the country wants law and order. The people are even ready to cooperate with the government against terrorists, but they do not believe that the plans adopted by the government will produce any results, since the agencies mentioned by the interior minister are not capable of controlling these disruptive activities. He added that the administration is relying solely on the official agencies. Immediate action is taken against protests by students, and they are instantly punished, but the official machinery itself encourages the agitators. It is impossible to meet the disruptive challenge with this machinery. It is that very machinery that tried to turn the action regarding Bhopali's murder toward individuals whose patriotism is beyond doubt and above suspicion. This situation cannot be dealt with without gaining the people's confidence. As for winning public confidence by temporarily establishing the Advisory Council, every one of the Council members felt that his prestige had been damaged over the past 10 months.

Another member of the Advisory Council, Ghazi Abdullah, joining in the discussion, said that the causes of disruption and terrorism were political and, they can only be solved politically. Mr H. L. Hayat noted that terrorism, disruptive activities and political murders prevail in the country. Despair and frustration among the people is increasing. Anyone who pinpointed terrorists suffered intensely. Mian Naimur Rahman said that when this government came into power, in the name of God and His prophet, it promised to safeguard the people and the country. Everyone knows today how far this promise has been fulfilled. People have no confidence in the government. The ministers have no rapport with the people, who feel that guarantees of their safety are merely verbal. The government lacks the power of law enforcement. The evening session's first speaker, Mumtaz Ahmad Tarar said that the cause of the trend toward terrorism in politics throughout the entire world is that the people are deprived of political power, the democratic process and social justice. In all of the Islamic countries of the world, there are restrictions on freedom of expression and dictatorship is enforced. The people are no longer willing to tolerate this. The political process should be expedited, and all restrictions on newspapers should be removed. Sayed Saeed Hasan said that the current situation came about because all avenues of expression are closed. Dr Mohammad Yunas said that once the people realize the weakness of martial law, the situation gets tense. Giving sleeping pills to the nation will not work.

These were the views expressed by the members of the Advisory Council in one day's session. Now see how the moderate politicians think. The following day, addressing a press conference at Karachi, the defunct Jamiat-e Islami's distinguished leader, Prof Ghafur Ahmad, said that presently they are passing through extraordinary circumstances. Dangers hover over our borders; internal conditions are also extremely worrisome. But despite all these things, the government seems content. During emergency situations, all the people on leave are always recalled to duty, but the current government has forcefully sent 80 million people on leave and has itself taken control of everything. This has further increased the burden of the Pakistani Army. The experienced personnel of the Pakistani Army and the individuals responsible for martial law are on other duty. They are being posted to the civil administration. These increasing responsibilities will definitely effect their defensive capabilities.

Prof Ghafur said that the government promised to hold elections within 90 days, but after a lapse of just 5 years, this promise has not been fulfilled. The government should have lost sleep for not keeping its promise. On the contrary, however, the rulers seem to be satisfied. The reason for the government's contentment is that despite anxiety and restlessness, the people so far have not made any nationwide protest. We are moving in the wrong direction. Martial law was imposed to restore conditions to normal. But instead of returning to normal, conditions are deteriorating day by day. After paying such a heavy price in recent years, the results appear to be negative. The people lack self-confidence. Disruptive activities are increasing day by day. Unemployment is rising. The government should confess that despite its immense powers, it has failed to bring conditions back to normal. One manifestation of the trend is that the administration, instead of being lenient, is becoming harsher every day.

These are the views of a person who during the same press conference also said that he did not regard the army as the enemy of the political parties. The parties wished, and tried, for the army to fulfill its promises honorably. In that regard, they were ready to cooperate with the army. They had grievances, as the army had not fulfilled its promises in the past. Nevertheless, for the sake of holding elections, they were once again prepared to cooperate with the government. It is clear from Prof Ghafur's proposal that his attitude toward the government is not competitive or hostile but conciliatory and friendly. Nevertheless, he was forced to mention the negative aspects due to the continuation of the current situation. From this, therefore, it should not be hard for the authorities to conclude that those who advise the restoration of democracy without delay are not their enemies or evil-doers.

Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani is a leader who thinks somewhat differently from Prof Ghafur Ahmad. He also indicated his plan to invite President Zia-ul-Haq to his proposed roundtable conference. At this, the circles that had previously agreed to participate in the conference have come up with severe criticism. However, Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani got into a bind. In the very press conference in which he indicated his intention, contrary to expectations, to invite President Zia-ul-Haq, he also said that the president had mentioned having contact with the politicians. But, said Maulana, he had no contact with the president, nor did he ever express a desire to have one. He considered even the concept of collaboration with a martial law administration a sin. Maulana Noorani further said that the present government has prepared a special group of privileged individuals. Economic conditions are in ruin; the country is strapped by loans. Economic corruption is rampant in the Rice Corporation, Cotton Corporation, National Logistic Sale and other autonomous bodies. He claimed that if a high judicial commission were established and people were permitted to appear before it, great scandals would be unveiled. He said that if the army can participate in politics, why cannot the lawyers do the same? There is no excuse for arresting lawyers and journalists. Political workers are being tortured in prison cells. For this, too, a commission under the authority of a supreme court judge should be appointed to investigate these places of torture.

Maulana Noorani added that the people are compelled to bear the lawlessness brought on by the government 5 years ago. Regrettably, Islam is being involved in all these matters.

In response to a question, Maulana Noorani even went as far as to say that the government had no right to impose restriction on political activities and in the roundtable conference he would propose a policy to end the restrictions on political activities.

These are the views of the same Maulana Noorani who, against the wishes of his colleagues and other leaders, intends to invite President Zia-ul-Haq to his roundtable conference. What does this entire situation reveal? It only shows that the relatively moderate circles, too, are extremely concerned about the continuation of the current situation. For the first time, one of them has



openly said that they would not care even for the law in order to have the restrictions on political activities lifted. For the past 5 years, this was not the common tone of expression for the political leaders, but now they have started uttering such words. Therefore, it would not be wise to ignore the significance and implications of the changes that have appeared in their thinking.

The impression drawn from an analysis of the views of the Advisory Council members, the leaders of the defunct Jamiat-e-Islami and Jamiat-e-Ulema-e-Pakistan is that all of these people do not have disagreements so much with the individuals in power personally as they have with the present system. The Advisory Council members are already cooperating with the government. If they had personal conflicts with the members in authority, they would never have come forward. Now, however, they also feel that continuation of the current system is not the solution to the problem. Despite the existence of grievances with the army, Prof Ghafur Ahmad has, even now, indicated his willingness to cooperate in holding elections or, in other words, changing the administration. Maulana Noorani intends to invite President Zia-ul-Haq to his conference, but he also talks about breaking the law. To a great extent, these are the right wing's views. The politicians on the other side of the fence, and their numbers are not few, stand very far from these people. It can be seen from this in which direction the winds of politics are blowing. We feel that the authorities should examine the situation with care and discernment. Instead of exhibiting useless self-confidence or tardiness, they should face the facts and adopt effective and immediate plans. One of the reasons for the political circles' bitter tone is that for some time the government has been almost totally silent over the demands for elections and the restoration of democracy. Consequently, there is greater despair regarding the government's intentions and future programs. The need to remedy this situation is obvious.

9779

CSO: 4656/24

## USE OF COAL FOR LOWERING ENERGY COSTS ADVOCATED

Karachi DAWN in English 18 Nov 82 p 9

[Text]

DESPITE the revived interest shown in coal as a source of energy, the progress made in recent years in exploiting this very valuable mineral has been less than satisfying. Some projects have no doubt been taken up or completed, but on the whole coal remains to be used basically by the brick-making industry, and its share in the energy-mix is very low. This is surprising, to say the least. Although the quality of the coal found here is on the whole not very good, it can still be used in many places without too much trouble and can help reduce dependence on oil and natural gas. Where power generation is concerned, for instance, two small units are running on coal near Quetta and WAPDA is setting up a larger coal-based power generation plant in Loralai district. The World Bank has also prepared a report on the use of Baluchistan coal for power generation, which indicates that it is feasible to go ahead with coal-based power plants. There are some other projects also but, as said earlier, coal is still being ig-

nored as a source of energy for widespread use.

The recent discovery of a big coalfield in Thatta district has improved the prospects of coal being used on a larger scale in the country. The new discovery is estimated to have 500 million to 1,000 million tons of coal, which compares very favourably with the reserves in the other coalfields in the country, estimated at around 450 million tons. The most encouraging aspect is that the coal in the Thatta fields is supposed to be of superior quality which, if it proves to be true, will not only be a very considerable asset but will also give an impetus to the utilisation of coal in the country. The key, however, is the manner in which the Government promotes the use of coal. If its attitude remains as in the past — an example being the use of Lakhra coal for power generation, which was suggested by experts in 1967 but whose completion is still many years away — then there is not much prospect of coal coming into wider use. The tragedy is that the Government is aware of many of the reasons

which led to the decline in the use of coal. Official sources have lamented the fact that many ginning factories and cement and power plants have switched to using gas from coal, which has obviously relegated coal to a less important position. Similarly, the switchover by the railways to oil was a major blow. There has to be a policy change now so that, depending on the feasibility, new factories are required to use coal, something which is being done in many other countries. Public sector agencies will have to take the lead in this, preparing studies which show the feasibility of using coal and the economic benefits which will derive from it. This last is an important point, since the entrepreneur is not interested in concepts such as conservation of non-renewable fuels, which to him will be vague and silly ideas. If, however, it can be proved that using coal will definitely reduce costs — without causing inconvenience at the same time — it is more likely that the use of coal will gain acceptance.

# PROGRESS OF TECHNICAL EDUCATION REVIEWED

Karachi DAWN in English 16 Nov 82 p 8

[Article by Azmat Ansari]

[Text]

How fiercely sixteen hundred seats in the nine politechnics in Sind are competed for can be gauged from the fact that only one boy or girl out of the every ten that applies for admission finds his or her way into these institutions.

Where do these young men or women end up? Officials responsible for running the job placement and follow-up plans do not know, for they don't seem to have enough funds for running these programmes. But they have a vague idea that all of them after finishing their education take up lucrative jobs.

A young man after putting in three years in a polytechnic starts his career on a minimum monthly salary of twelve hundred rupees; those who go out earn more. Not bad for young intermediate who before he got into the polytechnic had no definite idea what use to put his life to.

Not all those who apply for admission are intermediates; quite a few are B.Sc's and M.Sc's. A lot many Master of sciences take up the 200-hour courses run by these institutions.

One only wonders why Masters of sciences waste their four years, if they had to take up a short course in the end which they could have opted for right after intermediate.

It is because, there is no system for guiding these people in higher secondary schools. University education does not help each and every student.

The increase in the popularity of technical education is largely owing to the changed attitudes of the youth: most of them now think that it is not important for them to start their careers in white collar jobs right away. Quite a few of them are prepared to work with their own hands rather than lording over others and telling them to do the jobs for them.

Some ten years ago people coming from aristocratic families would have thought it a disgrace to hold a screw driver or a monkey wrench in their hands; but now it is no longer so. Most of them may agree to become wellpaid welders in the Middle East or the Americas.

The boys after two years' training in the polytechnic institutes are called associate engineers, and they are justifiably proud to hold this diploma.

The nineteen courses that are offered to our youth who enters polytechnic institutes are in these technologies: auto and diesel, auto and farm, air-conditioning and refrigeration, civil engineering, clothing, electrical, glass and ceramics, industrial technology, watch and instrumentation, mechanical, power, radio and electronics, television, textile spinning, textile weaving, tool design and tool making, welding and sheet metal, woodworking and chemical.

The polytechnics also groom up young men into assistant and sales engineers, supervisors, production engineers, research assistants and overseers.

The growth in the rise of the technical hands and engineering

personnel may eventually bring into existence a class of technocrats who would hold lot of power and would get a fair amount of decision making posts at the provincial and federal government levels. The youth of today who take up technical jobs have a lot to look forward to. The best brains with the right type of ambition would eventually find their way into powerful government posts.

One cannot really disassociate technical education from vocational education. Some young men who are trained up in the fifty-five vocational institutes in Sind are a little better equipped to graduates on to polytechnic education than uninitiated raw hands.

Young boys when they pass out from vocational institutes call themselves semi-skilled personnel. When they finish their courses in the institutions they are ready to take up jobs as carpenters, mechanics, electricians, wiremen, drifsmen, supervisors, masons, plumbers, estimators, etc. The director of technical education told me that some years ago it was difficult to convince parents that vocational training is beneficial for their daughters. The large number of handicraft and needlework exhibitions that were held in which they saw for themselves the fruit of the work of the girls who had worked in a vocational institution helped dispel their prejudices against vocational education.

Quite apart from its usefulness in their homes, girls who are trained

in needlecraft are readily absorbed in industrial homes and garments factories.

The pattern of technical education that seems to be emerging in Pakistan is akin to the one in West Germany and some other countries in Europe where the youth right from the high or pre-high school level takes on vocational training to take up jobs as plumbers, mechanics or technicians, earn a little money, moves on to the polytechnic level, and if he still has the money and aptitude moves up into the technical universities.

Earlier on, the problem with the youth in Pakistan was that they neither had the attitude of mind for taking up technical education, nor facilities for such education existed. The youth without much forethought drifted into university education to find in the end that clerical jobs were awaiting them, that they had wasted their entire education. Only a very few were taken up in the Civil Service cadres.

Another twelve commercial institutes in Sind train boys and girls for banking, life insurance, shorthand and typing, book keeping and advertising and accountants jobs.

The youth in Pakistan today has a lot to look forward to. Those who do not seem to have the resources to pursue higher education, can take up vocational and technical training right from the pre-or post-high school levels, and if they plan soundly they can from modest beginnings develop themselves into very-highly paid engineers and top executives in engineering firms.

## MRD STUDENT FRONT FORMED

Karachi DAWN in English 16 Nov 82 pp 1, 12

[Text]

**LAHORE, Nov 15:** A joint student front of the MRD, Punjab, was formed here today to preserve the sanctity of educational institutions and protect lives and rights of university and college students in the country.

The Front comprises four student organisations, with its headquarters in the office of the defunct Muslim League (Khairuddin Group). In this connection, a joint Press conference was held by the components of the Front — Pakistan Students Federation, Jamiat Tulaba-i-Islam, National Students Federation and Istiqlal Students' Federation.

The convener of the Front, Mr Ifaz Hussain (PSF), addressing the Press conference alleged that the Islami Jamiat Tulaba was creating harassment in educational institutions.

To cope with the situation, he said, all patriotic, progressive and democratic student organisations had decided to join hands.

At the joint Press conference, student leaders demanded that sanctity of educational institutions be restored forthwith, arrested and

detained students be released and political leaders, including Miss Benazir Bhutto, Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, Maulana Fazalur Rahman, retired Air Marshal Asghar Khan and other political workers and lawyers be set free immediately.

The students also demanded restoration of the 1973 Constitution, lifting of censorship, end to curbs on political activities and announcement of a final date for holding general elections in the country.

**Protest rally**

Meanwhile, a group of college students staged a protest rally against the alleged IJT activities in universities and colleges. The students then marched to the office of the Governor and the Martial Law headquarters to hand over a written four-point charter in which they demanded that security of students and sanctity of educational institutions be ensured. The march was organised by the Pakistan Muslim Students Federation, Punjab.

CSO: 4200/130

## BRIEFS

LEADERS BARRED FROM BALUCHISTAN--Quetta, Nov 17--Defunct NDP leaders, Haji Ghulam Mohammad Bilour and Mr Mohammad Afzal Khan, who had been on last leg of their tour of Baluchistan, were externed from the province under the Government orders served on them in Loralai district yesterday. Both Haji Bilour and Mr Afzal Khan, who were accompanied by another two of their party colleagues, were escorted out of Baluchistan by District authorities of Loralai into neighbouring district of Dera Ghazi Khan in Punjab. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 18 Nov 82 p 1]

SHOORA BODY MEETING ENDS--Islamabad, Nov 17--The four day meeting of the special committee of Majilis-e-Shoora on the acceleration of Nizam-e-Islam in the country concluded here on Tuesday. The committee heard the views of Dr. Ziauddin, Deputy Governor, State Bank of Pakistan, Mr I. A. Imtiaz, Secretary, Religious Affairs and Mr H. U. Baig, Secretary, finance on the interest-free economy and banking system. It will meet again on Dec. 11 to formulate its recommendations on the subject. The committee is expected to submit its report to the next session of the Majlis-e-Shoora. Allama Rehmatullah Arshad, Mr Hamza and Allama Syed Muhammad Razi Mujtahid chaired its different sessions. Those who attended the meeting were: Maulana Muhammad Malik Kandhalvi, Khwaja Mahmud Ahmad Minto, Mr Nusrat Maqbool Elahi, Allama Abdul Mustafa Al-Azhari, Mr Liaquat Ali Khan Jatoi, Maulana Samiul Haq and Maulana Abdullah Khilji.--APP. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 18 Nov 82 p 4]

EQUIPMENT FOR SILICON CENTERS--Equipment worth nine lakh dollars for Silicon Technology Development Centre of Pakistan, ordered by UNIDO is expected to arrive in Pakistan in March-April next year, while training of personnel is now in progress in the USA. The Centre aims at assisting Pakistan's entry into a greatly expanded solar cell technology, promoting the interest of local industry to utilise indigenous silicon products and processes and establishing a cadre of trained manpower from highly qualified professionals to skilled workers PPI. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 18 Nov 82 p 8]

OCTOBER EXPORTS DECLINE REPORTED--Exports from Pakistan during October, 1982, amounted to Rs. 1,896.2 million showing a decrease of 3.4 per cent over the exports during September, 1982, and an increase of 17.7 per cent compared to October, 1981. According to provisional figures compiled by the Federal Bureau of Statistics, exports during September, 1982, stood at Rs. 1,962.1 million and in October, 1981, at Rs 1,610.8 million. Imports into Pakistan

during this month amounted to Rs. 5,640.6 million (provisional) which was higher by 52.3 per cent compared to import of Rs. 3,703.5 million (provisional) during September, 1982, and by 17.1 per cent compared to import of Rs 4,815.1 million in October, 1981. Main items of export during October, 1982, were rice, (Rs 238.1 million), Cotton fabric (Rs. 197.6 million), cotton yard (Rs 185.5 million), fish and fish preparation (Rs. 109.7 million), carpets and carpeting (Rs. 103.9 million), ready-made garments (Rs. 81.6 million), raw cotton (Rs. 66.4 million), petroleum products (Rs. 63.5 million) and leather (Rs. 60.2 million). Of the main items of imports, crude oil accounted for Rs. 1,240.2 million, edible oil Rs. 332.4 million, fertilizer Rs 246.5 million and wheat Rs. 113.9 million during October, 1982.--APP [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 18 Nov 82 p 11]

DETAINED LAWYER'S RELEASE URGED--Lahore, Nov 17--The Lahore High Court Bar Association today condemned the arrest and detention of Mr Rashid Murtaza Qureshi, a senior advocate, and demanded his immediate release as "he has not committed any offence." In a resolution adopted at an emergency meeting held under the chairmanship of Mr Abid Hassan Minto, the President of the Bar, the Association noted that Mr Qureshi, who was a distinguished member of the Lahore Bar, had been arrested by Martial Law authorities and was being tried by a Military Court. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 18 Nov 82 p 12]

JUI SPLIT REPORT DENIED--Maulana Mohammad Zakria has denied a news item appearing in a section of the Press that there was a move for a third group within the defunct Jamiat Ulema-i-Islam and that he planned to call a meeting of moderates in Lahore for this purpose. It was his effort to unify the two existing groups, and certainly not to create yet another, he said in a Press statement. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 18 Nov 82 p 12]

NEWSMAN FREED ON BAIL--Lahore, Nov 17--Mr Idrees Butt, the Lahore correspondent of daily "Aman" Karachi, was released on bail today from the camp jail by a local summary military court. He was arrested on Oct 27 last under MLR 13 in connection with his alleged involvement in the 1978 pamphlet case. He was released against a personal surety and a bond of Rs 1,00,000 each. Mr Idrees But was given "B" class in the jail. He has been asked by the Martial Law authorities to appear before a military court on Nov 28 the date fixed for the hearing of his case. Mr Pervez Saleh, Advocate, appeared as counsel. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 18 Nov 82 p 12]

SHOORA MEMBERS AS JUSTICES--Lahore, Nov 17--The Provincial Cabinet, which met in Lahore today under the chairmanship of the Punjab Governor, Lt.-Ten. Ghulam Jilani Khan, decided that all the members of Majlis-i-Shora from the Punjab should be appointed Justices of Peace, under Section 22 of Cr. P.C., in pursuance of the directive of the President. The members of Majlis-i-Shora have already been associated with various boards, committees and authorities under the Punjab Government. The Cabinet approved an amendment in section 4 of the Punjab Supervision and Control of Children Homes Act, 1976. The amendment has been made to give larger representation to non-official members in the Punjab Board for the Supervision and Control of Children Homes. [Excerpt] [Karachi DAWN in English 18 Nov 82 p 12]

BRITISH DELEGATION CALLS ON ZIA--The three-member British delegation led by chairman of the Afghan support committee in Britain (Canbon) had a meeting with President Gen Mohammad Ziaul Haq in Rawalpindi yesterday. The president was apprised of the facts which were noted by the delegation members during their visits to Afghan refugee camps in various parts of the country. They also exchanged views on the humanitarian aspects of the Afghanistan issue and the efforts of Pakistan and other countries in taking care of Afghan refugees. They also held talks on Pakistan-Britain bilateral relations and the condition of Pakistani citizens in Britain. Later, the president gave a dinner in honor of the British delegation. The president presented a copy of the book JOURNEY THROUGH PAKISTAN to every member of the delegation. [Text] [BK231305 Karachi Domestic Service in Urdu 0200 GMT 23 Nov 82]

ZIA TO VISIT BANGLADESH--President Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq will pay an official visit to Bangladesh on the invitation of the President of Bangladesh, Gen Hussain Mohammad Ershad. According to an announcement made in Dhaka on Monday, the date of President Zia's visit will be announced later.--AIR [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 16 Nov 82 p 1]

NEW LENTIL VARIETIES--Faisalabad, Nov 15--The Nuclear Institute of Agriculture and Biology (NIAB), Faisalabad, evolved two new varieties of Chickpea (gram) and Moong which are blight and disease resistant and give higher yield than the existing varieties. After conducting through trials the NIAB recently submitted these varieties to the Provincial Seed Corporation for approval immediately after acquiring the sanction of the Seed Corporation. According to a reliable source, the new Chickpea (gram) variety CM-72 is not only blight and disease resistant but gives 50 per cent more yield. The CM-72 and CM-68 have recently been tested at different locations by NIAB, University of Agriculture and the Pakistan Agricultural Research Council. The NIAB expects to release 20,000 maunds seed of these improved varieties after multiplication during the next year. Similarly, the newly evolved variety of Moong M-28 will also be released. The source said that a new variety of rice has also been evolved by the NIAB. The new Kashmir rice variety 370 has good flavour, provides better yield and reduces the duration of maturity from 125 days to 100 days. The Kashmir Basmati was tried in Azad Kashmir in place of coastal varieties and have now been extended to Swat and Hazara. This variety can give 2 crops in one growing season. The NIAB also evolved some other high yielding dwarf Basmati types DM-2 DM16-5 and DM107-4 which have been included in trials by the ARC, it is further learnt. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 16 Nov 82 p 5]

COWS FROM NETHERLANDS ARRIVE--Peshawar, Nov 15--Ninety-one Feresian cows have arrived from Holland by a chartered plane, which will be kept for breeding and dairy purposes at the Cattle Breeding and Dairy Farm in Harichad near Charsaddah, about 20 miles from here. Another load of the same species of cows has been despatched in specially designed trucks by road for the same farm by the Netherlands Government. The manager of this farm and one veterinary expert will also be Dutch and stay on the farm to give technical advice and to supervise breeding and dairy procedures for some time. The NWFP Governor, Lt. Gen. Fazle Haq, who visited this farm on Saturday expressed his great displeasure and dissatisfaction over the unseemly condition of grazing fields and feed crops in this farm and issued orders to improve them without any loss of time. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 16 Nov 82 p 5]



BRITISH DELEGATION BRIEFED--A three-member British delegation led by chairman of the Afghan support committee in Britain (Lord Canbon) had separate meetings with Federal Interior Minister Mahmud A. Haroon, Foreign Secretary Niaz A. Naik and the chief commissioner for Afghan refugees in Islamabad today. The delegation is currently on a week-long visit to Pakistan in order to have firsthand knowledge about the problems of the Afghan refugees and the nature of assistance they need from the world community. The delegation was briefed on the latest position in respect of Afghan refugees. They were informed that 2.8 million of refugees were living in Pakistan and the government was making all possible efforts to look after them. In all, 15 million rupees are being spent on Afghan refugees daily with the assistance of the world community while half of this amount is being contributed exclusively by the Pakistan Government on humanitarian ground. (Lord Canbon) lauded Pakistan's unprecedented efforts to look after such a huge population of refugees. He said the stand taken by Pakistan on the question of Afghanistan was appreciated and supported by all the right thinking people throughout the world. [Text] [BK190425 Karachi Domestic Service in English 1700 GMT 18 Nov 82]

F-16'S DELIVERY REFUSED--Pakistan is reported to have refused to take delivery of the first 6 of the 40 F-16 planes it is acquiring from the United States. Pakistan insists that these planes will be acceptable to it only if sophisticated electronic gadgets were equipped with them. Quoting an Urdu daily, a news agency reports from Islamabad that Pakistan has sought suspension of the delivery program, which was to have begun on the 19th of this month. It is reported that both the countries have been discussing for the past several months the details of the original sales agreement. [Text] [BK281357 Delhi General Overseas Service in English 1330 GMT 28 Nov 82]

CSO: 4200/139

## TULF DIALOGUE WITH AUTHORITIES WELCOMED

Colombo THE ISLAND in English 9 Nov 82 p 6

[Editorial: "A Welcome Sign"]

[Text] The decision of the Tamil United Liberation Front to participate in a dialogue with the law-enforcement authorities in the North is a ray of sunshine in a largely bleak landscape of Sinhala-Tamil relations. Under this programme TULF MPs and members of Development Councils in the North will attend a conference chaired by Jaffna Government Agent Devanesan Nesiiah where they will be able to exchange views with Police and Army top brass.

The overwhelming presence of the Police and Army in the North has always been a sore point with the TULF, but as any dispassionate observer will surely concede this was something that was generated by the inexorable process of Tamil politics. It was the challenge to law and order mounted by the Northern terrorists which precipitated the situation. There is no doubt that in their efforts to combat terrorism the law-enforcement authorities have been guilty of some excesses and such unfortunate acts as the mindless arson at the Jaffna Public Library. But in some measure this was the by-product of the climate of fear in the North produced by the activities of the Northern terrorist movement.

The situation in Jaffna offers a tragic picture of the futility of violence. Frustrated by the many genuine problems they have had to face, the more militant youth of the Tamil areas have taken the path of violence in the mistaken belief that this is the way to the Utopia that they envisage. The result has been a massive strengthening of the police and the military producing the inevitable counter-violence of the state machinery. There is no escape out of this vicious cycle of violence for some insensate display of violence such as the recent killings at Chavakachcheri or the burning of the Jaffna Library.

It is in this context that the dialogue between the political representatives of the Tamil people and the top brass of the law enforcement agencies is welcome.

It will provide a forum for both sides to exchange ideas and place their problems before each other.

This is necessary because the country cannot afford the luxury of allowing the activities of a band of anarchists to drive a permanent wedge between the Tamil people and the state machinery as represented by the law-enforcement agencies. The large majority of people in the North are law-abiding citizens who only ask of the police and the military that they be allowed to go about their day-to-day work peacefully. But it has to be accepted that in its efforts to combat terrorism, the law enforcement authorities have encroached on the lives of innocent people producing a certain degree of harassment. The Government cannot afford to allow this to grow into a sense of bitterness and therefore the intended conference between the two sides is welcome.

It will bring about closer understanding between the two parties so that the TULF MPs and DC members will know exactly what the thinking of the Police and Army is and whom they should contact in the case of any incidents. For its part, the top brass of the law should also try to transcend the barriers of suspicion and genuinely get to know the Tamil mind. Part of the Northern problem is the alienation of the law enforcement agencies from the people. Since most of the officers lack proficiency in Tamil they cannot communicate with the people of the North and in the absence of communication the people tend to view the police with suspicion.

At least the top brass in the North, if not the rank and file, must try to understand the thinking of the Tamil people for law enforcement in the North is as much a political as a police problem. There are genuine political issues tied up with law enforcement work in the North and while the police are certainly not expected to take any stand on the political problems of the North, an insight into Northern politics will help them immensely in their work.

This decision on the part of the TULF is welcome for another reason. Recent TULF activities such as the unfortunate nomination of Kuttimani to Parliament have again produced a sense of anger among the Sinhala people which can bode no good for Sinhala-Tamil relations. Coupled with the resumption of the Government-TULF talks due to take place soon, this dialogue with the law enforcement agencies on the part of the TULF could signal that the TULF is willing to contribute towards shattering the barriers that divide the two people.

## MAITHRI'S FUTURE PROBED

Colombo THE ISLAND in English 7 Nov 82 p 6

["Island Politics" Column by Arjuna: "Which Way For Maithri?"]

[Text]

POLITICS took decisive command of the country again last week demonstrating that it will be politics which will dominate Sri Lanka for the rest of the year with the announcement of a Referendum by President Jayewardene. In fact political events unfolded so rapidly last week that an observer was hard pressed to keep pace with the changing kaleidoscope which will take some time to fall into a coherent pattern.

The UNP, elated by its victory at the Presidential Election, has clearly started its campaign for the Referendum and the main plank of its platform was unveiled by President Jayewardene himself when he told the Government Parliamentary Group that he had decided not to have a General Election because what he described as "Naxalite group" had taken command of the SLFP. Thus it looks as if the coming Referendum is to be fought on a slogan to which the Sri Lankan electorate has been only too well used from the hoary days of D. S. Senanayake — Democracy in danger.

The UNP clearly feels that its economic policies have been accepted by the people at the Presidential Election and that at the Referendum the fight will have to be on a political front. The kind of constitution which President Jayewardene introduced in 1978 entails a Parliament which will not come into conflict with the Executive President and this is

what the UNP is trying to ensure with the perpetuation of the present Parliament through a Referendum. It knows that if a Parliamentary Election is held the UNP will never again be able to get a two thirds majority under the Proportional Representation system and now that the chance has offered itself of continuing with the present Parliament the party has jumped at it.

This is clearly what President Jayewardene meant when he made his now famous remark about rolling up the electoral map for 10 years. But in retrospect one wonders the Opposition made sufficient use of this statement and exploited it adequately for its propagandist purposes. This was clearly not the case many political parties (including the Sri Lanka Communist Party which did not contest the Presidential Election) were even in the midst of that campaign getting ready for the Parliamentary Election which they believed would be held. It is only now that the opposition has woken up to the danger but one wonders whether it will be too late.

Politically the most significant development last week even eclipsing Mr. Maithripala Senanayake's decision to vote with the Government on the fourth amendment to the Constitution and other sensational developments such as the rice ration book affair, was the meeting of all Opposition parties (the only exception was the

TULF) which Mrs. Sirima Bandaranaike chaired to discuss ways and means of opposing the Government at the Referendum. When one considers that parties such as the SLFP, the LSSP and the Nava Samasamaja Party which contested each other at the October 20 election assembled for the discussion one can see the depth of feeling in the Opposition against the measure. It remains to be seen whether even in the face of this challenge the Opposition can get together abandoning their ideological and personal differences.

An assessment of the UNP's strategy was made in Parliament last week by Communist MP Sarath Muttetuwegama who made a powerful speech opposing the Fourth amendment. His contention was that the UNP strategy was two fold although closely linked to each other. On one hand it was trying to plunge the SLFP voter into confusion by talking of the "Naxalite group" in the SLFP while on the other by arresting, questioning and generally hounding SLFP supporters over the rice ration book affair it was making it virtually impossible for any one to campaign for the Opposition at the Referendum, the Kalawana MP argued.

In this the Government has cleverly exploited the internal differences within the SLFP. Its strategy is obviously to pit the moderate in the party against the radicals now ritually baptised

"Naxalites" by President Jayewardene, exhuming a term which figured almost daily in the columns of the "Observer" during the 1970 General Election campaign when the UNP's chief platform cry was "Beware of Janatha Committees." This was clearly seen by Mr. Anura Bandaranaike's unequivocal condemnation of the extremists in the SLFP and his repeated assertion that the country had decisively rejected Marxism. But for Anura it will be an uphill task to rid the SLFP of its radicals demonstrated by the SLFP Central Committee's statement last week that these were Mr. Bandaranaike's personal opinions and not those of the party. Anura meanwhile has left for Spain where no doubt in the land which inspired so many intellectuals on the left during the stirring days of the Spanish Civil War Mr. Bandaranaike will cogitate about radicalism and centrism.

The surprise of last week was, of course, Mr. Maithripala Senanayake's decision to support the Government over the Referendum. Though Mr. Senanayake tried to rationalise his position by citing his conscience there were more deep-seated reasons for what looked like the most startling volte face of recent times. It was only a week ago that Mr. Senanayake had strongly condemned post-election violence prompting an angry Prime Minister to retort "I have lost all respect for you."

If this might have been interpreted by some as a sign of Mr. Senanayake blossoming into a powerful Opposition leader this was not to be. But again his sudden about turn is rooted in circumstances which have inexorably pushed this veteran politician into today's position. Mr. Senanayake's return to the SLFP and unconditionally at that to support Mr. Kobbekaduwa after the party led by Mrs. Bandaranaike had been recognised by the Elections Commissioner was a wonderful morale booster to a SLFP afflicted by internal divisions. Mr. Senanayake has always been regarded by rank and file SLFPers as a sober, responsible leader and has as been held in esteem as a moderating influence in the party. His return in spite of being bitterly disappointed over the Elections

Commissioner's decision was thus greeted with genuine delight by the SLFP rank and file. Mr. Senanayake had every right to expect that he would be restored to something like his former position in the party on his penitent return.

But what happened at the Central Committee meeting on Monday was totally different. In the absence of Messrs Hector Kobbekaduwa and T. B. Ilangarantne (who were having their own troubles what with the rice ration book affair and all that) Mr. Ratna Deshapriya Senanayake proposed that Mr. Senanayake and those returning with him should be admitted as new members. This was a bitter blow to Maithri for it showed that powerful section of the party were not ready to forget far from forgiving.

This combined with powerful pressure from sections of his partymen who had already gone to the UNP to change Maithri's mind. It was well known that people such as P.B.G. Kalugalle, S. D. R. Jayaratne and R. P. Wijesiri were constant visitors at Mr. Senanayake's residence and were pressing on him to join them. It was in this context that Mr. Senanayake saw President Jayewardene with a few of his partymen where Mr. Jayewardene is said to have explained his immediate plans to the group.

#### TRAGIC

Which way will Maithri go? Today Mr. Senanayake has become the tragic figure of Sri Lankan politics. A known moderate in the SLFP, a man with no pretensions to book learning but with a pragmatic grasp of issues, politician without the charisma of a national leader but one held in high regard by the peasantry of the Raja Rata it looked as if Maithri had arrived at last when he was leader of the LSFP Parliamentary Group after Mrs. Bandaranaike's disenfranchisement. But it was not to be.

Disillusioned Maithri broke away and again it looked as if he could make it because Anura was with him. But with Anura's departure and the setback the party suffered over the symbol the process which has now culminated in reducing the Maithri group to rump

represented in Parliament by Mr. Senanayake and Mr. Halim Ishak was set in motion. In fact Mr. Ishak after the latest rebuff of the SLFP Central Committee had suggested that the two of them should resign their seats. But Maithri has opted to wait and see. He has yet not made up his mind whether to join the UNP or not. He will wait for the SLFP to expel him from the party which will, of course, set in motion the process of a Parliamentary Select Committee which can take quite some time to submit its report.

Maithri also knows that the extension of Parliament can be decisive to his political career. He will have to remain an ordinary MP for another six years by which time the chance of achieving anything more substantial might well have slipped out of his hands. He can also see all round him his former colleagues rushing to join the UNP with hope of plucking the fruits of office. So in this context what will he do?

It remains to be seen whether the people will endorse the UNP's stand of extending the life of Parliament at the Referendum but for the moment at least it looks as if President Jayewardene is well in command. He has already launched the campaign to rid the UNP of unpopular politicians as demonstrated by the exit of Mr. Dharmasena Attiygalle from Parliament on Friday. He has also been able to fire the imagination of even hard core.

SLFPers such as Gampaha MP S. D. Bandaranayake with his idea of a national government. Mr. Bandaranayake has so far remained tight-lipped about his plans but by now it is known in political circles that he is actively in favour of the idea. Mr. Bandaranayake has been a very longstanding member of the SLFP and has been known as a strong sympathiser of China and an admirer and devotee of Mao Tse-Tung.

He had always displayed strong radical tendencies culminating in his figuring in the main insurrection trial before the CJC and for a man of such tendencies to be propelled towards the UNP shows the extent of the changes President Jayewardene's strategy has brought about in the country's politics.

## SPEED URGED IN CONSPIRACY INQUIRY

Colombo THE ISLAND in English 7 Nov 82 p 6

[Editorial: "Conspiracy Inquiry Must Be Completed Soon"]

[Text]

THE list of those who are questioned by the CID in connection with the rice ration books distributed by the SLFP during the Presidential Election campaign is growing daily. Each day newspapers put out some fresh story in spite of the police maintaining a stoic silence to reporters. Printing presses have been sealed, a businessman has been held incommunicado later released.

What began as an investigation into this affair has now snowballed into a major inquiry into what has been described as a plot by a Naxalite group within the SLFP to assassinate the President and indulge in acts of violence if the SLFP candidate had won. Mr. Tyrrel Goonetillake, emerging from his enforced hibernation, has been placed at the head of the inquiry.

What is important is that the inquiry should be concluded as soon as possible and the country informed of the results. This is necessary because the whole thing goes beyond the bounds of a normal CID inquiry. The issues are political and the whole incident can well turn out to be the main campaign issue at the Referendum for which the Government is now preparing.

The Referendum will take place in a climate where the entire opposition is in disarray. Divided and afflicted by every split possible, demoralised and beaten down by the October 21 defeat, the opposition is only now shakily finding its feet.

If the on-going inquiry drags on and leading opposition politicians have to devote their minds more to it than to the election campaign, then that would be a further disadvantage to the opposition.

This is why the country should be informed of the truth otherwise of the stories which are freely circulating in the country. Names of various persons, some of them professionals, have been mentioned in connection with various incidents and appointments which are said to have been planned if the SLFP had won. The Government

owes it to these persons to let the country know whether these stories are correct because it can well cause them much heartburn to them if they are not.

The early conclusion of the inquiry is essential for creating the climate for holding the Rreferendum. A proper contest cannot take place in a situation where the Government's opponents have a Damoclean sword hanging over them. The opposition must be able to work openly against the Government without fear of its supporters being harrassed. For all this, it is necessary that the Government should clear the air soon.

The police should also ensure that no room is left for the inquiry to be used to wreak vengeance on anyone. It is a well known fact that when something like this is on, there are people who try to put their enemies into trouble by telling the Police that they too were a party to it. This is the time when the vermin crawl out of their hide-outs and begin their slimy activities, the time when the witch hunters emerge from their holes. The Police must be careful of these people who might try to start their old games. In fact supporting the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution, Medawachchiya MP Maithripala Senanayake on Thursday night appealed to the Government to see that innocent people are not victimised by those who have private axes to grind against them.

The President has been returned with an overwhelming mandate and certainly he has to ensure peace and stability in the country. Anyone who tries to disrupt the social order has to be dealt with in the proper way. That is why it is necessary that the inquiry should conclude early and the country told the facts before the Referendum campaign begins.

CSO: 4200/128

FOREIGN EXCHANGE IN U.S. DOLLARS ONLY

Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 9 Nov 82 p 1

[Text

The Central Bank yesterday announced that with effect from Wednesday, the bank will transact foreign exchange business with commercial banks operating in Sri Lanka, exclusively in US dollars.

The Central Bank has indicated that the minimum value of a transaction, spot or forward, should be 10,000 US dollars.

Under the new arrangement, the Central Bank will not be determining the rates at which commercial banks should deal in foreign exchange with their customers.

Transactions in currencies handled in terms of the Asian Clearing Union Agreement under which payments are made between Sri Lanka on the one hand, and Bangladesh, Burma, India, Iran, Nepal and Pakistan on the other hand, are not affected by the change that will take effect on November 10, the bank said.

The bank has also indicated that it will engage in forward transactions only for the purchase of US dollars by the bank and

CSO: 4200/128



# MAJOR DEVELOPMENTS IN LANKA'S FINANCIAL DEALINGS LIKELY

Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 8 Nov 82 p 1

[Article by Feisal Samath]

[Text]

The Central Bank move to fix a buying and selling rate for the US dollar only instead of the usual basket of six global currencies will be effective from Wednesday or Thursday this week.

Central Bank Governor Dr. Warnasena Rasaputram told 'The Island' yesterday that the working of this new scheme was being examined and it would be effective this week, probably Wednesday or Thursday.

At present, the Bank fixes a buying and selling rate for the US dollar, Pound Sterling, German deutsche mark, French franc, Japanese yen and the Indian rupee.

The Central Bank decision means that major developments would be effected in Sri Lanka's financial dealings.

Dr. Rasaputram said the change would promote better dealings between banks. The normal 2pm dealings between the Central Bank and the 24 Commercial banks where the buying and selling rates of the six currencies are fixed for the following day, will also be done away with.

Banks, he added, can buy or sell to the Central Bank at any time during normal banking hours.

'The Island', in its issue of November 6, exclusively reported the Central Bank decision which

has been already conveyed to Commercial banks.

Although economists claim that the decision would not create a big impact on the country's import/export industry since over 70% of the financial dealings are controlled by the US dollar which is the most powerful currency in the world, there are indications that other currencies like the Pound Sterling would now make a bigger impact on the economy of the country given the freedom to trade in the open market without Central Bank restrictions.

Commercial Banks can, banking sources said, now trade foreign currencies other than the US dollar, at their own rates, making the financial market more competitive.

In addition to promoting more dealings between banks, the move will enable the money-broking community to engage in a greater volume of business per day. Presently, the six licensed money-brokers control a volume of around Rs.500 million per day.

This volume, banking sources said, would increase greatly as Banks would use the brokers to buy or sell excess liquidity.

The system of fixing a buying and selling rate for six international currencies was introduced soon after the UNP Government assumed office in mid-1977. The rates were fixed at fluctuating international levels.

CSO: 4200/128

## NAXALITE THREAT EXAMINED

Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 6 Nov 82 p 4

[Text]

The diabolical implications of a Naxalite take-over as was conspired by a section of the Marxist-oriented SLFP and was revealed by President J. R. Jayewardene to the Government Parliamentary Group and thereafter to Parliament by Prime Minister R. Premadasa do not seem to have seeped sufficiently into the minds of the public.

A sizeable section of shocked MPs, faintly acquainted with the term "Naxalite", was animatedly discussing what it was all about in conversational huddles in the corridors and restaurant of Parliament during the last few days.

In the international political lexicon Naxalite implies a take-over by violence. That is a broad, and perhaps simplified, definition. In-depth, it means subversive destruction and looting by Communist elements aimed at toppling the government in power and installing anarchy.

The word "Naxalite" traces its origins to the 300 square-mile area of Naxalbari in the Darjeeling district in West Bengal where in May - June, 1967, armed Communist revolutionaries unleashed violence.

The disturbances were so serious that the then Home Minister, Y. B. Chavan, stated in the Lok Sabha on June 13, 1967, that "serious lawlessness" had erupted in Naxalbari, revealing that "Communist extremists were playing a prominent role in it". The Chief Minister of West Bengal, Ajvy Mukherjee, revealed that the "Naxalites had let loose a reign of terror, forcing local people to submit to them".

The roots of the Naxalbari revolt, as political commentators and the Research Bureau of the United News of India traced it, are in the disturbances triggered by the Communist Party of India (Marxist) which was a constituent unit of the ruling United Front of W. Bengal.

What is of particular significance to contemporary events in Sri Lanka is that, according to the Research Bureau, "The extremists had anticipated a Congress victory in the fourth general election but saw no reason to hold back the planned agitation even under the UF government".

The Naxalite brand of violence is now a strange mix of Marxism and Maoism. The Research Bureau quotes a saying that in some cases violent overthrows may be necessary. "The form of social revolutions varies. And it is not true that we regard violence and civil war as the ONLY way to remake society....." he said.

On the other hand, it is stressed among other things that "parliamentary democracy is not an effective weapon for revolution. An armed struggle is inevitable".

The Naxalite movement spread to pockets in Madras (minimally), Andra Pradesh, Kerala, Bihar, Punjab, etc.

The term Naxalite is no longer confined to either China or the Soviets. Now it is an extremist violent movement, which is used as a means to the end of overthrowing a government.

CSO: 4200/128

NEW POLICE RECRUITING POLICY FOR NORTH

Colombo THE ISLAND in English 7 Nov 82 p 1

[Article by D. B. S. Jeyaraj]

[Text] A new recruitment policy regarding the intake of Tamil-speaking persons to the Police force is to be adopted soon.

A top Police spokesman told 'The Island' that in future, 40 per cent of Police recruits would be from minority communities. This basis of recruitment will be followed until a sufficient number of Tamil-speaking Police personnel is absorbed into the force.

There are only 750 policemen from the Tamil and Muslim communities in the entire Police force of over 15,000, the spokesman said.

The lack of sufficient Tamil-speaking personnel in the Police force has prevented the posting of 75 per cent Tamil-speaking men to the North, he said.

At present, 58 per cent of the Police in the Jaffna district are Tamil-speaking while the percentage in the Northern Range is 47 per cent.

A certain amount of Tamil-speaking policemen are also necessary in the south because of the provision which allows a person to register his complaint in his own language, if he wishes so.

CSO: 4200/128

## ONE MILLION NEW HOUSES PLANNED

Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 6 Nov 82 p 1

[Article by T. Sabaratnam]

[Text] The National Housing Development authority yesterday announced a 5-point action plan to implement Prime Minister Premadasa's promise of building a million houses during the next six years.

Mr M. G. D. Jayawardene, Chairman, National Housing Development Authority (NHDA) who announced the plan said it involved upgrading existing houses, granting buildable land in 10 perch blocks on 99-year lease at nominal rentals, giving housing loans to those who own building blocks, selling government flats to their tenants and persuading employers to build houses for their employees.

These schemes which are intended to encourage self-help house building would be over and above the Gam Udawa effort, government's flats and housing scheme programs.

Helping to upgrade existing houses and leasing out buildable plots will be the corner-stone of the million house scheme in-

tended to make Sri Lanka a house-owning democracy.

Easy loans and building materials will be given to those who undertake to upgrade their houses.

"When this assistance is given, the NHDA will insist that at least one unemployed child of the household be involved and trained in the construction industry. This requirement of site training will help make the artisans needed in this country and abroad", Mr. Ajantha Wijesena, the B&C Chairman, said.

An advertisement will be published next week calling for applicants who want lands to build their own homes.

We have ample land country wide. Even in Colombo we have land.

We are in the process of blocking out 10-perch plots. From the application we will be able to ascertain the number of plots needed and the areas in which they are required", Mr. Jayawardena said.

Only the landless will be entitled to these plots. Those who obtain these lands will be tied to a building program and if they fail to keep to it, the land will be taken back.

The State Mortgage Bank which is being reconstituted into a National Housing and Mortgage Bank will give easy loans to those who own land but can't find building credit. They as well as others can build according to their own plans.

Government flats with rentals of Rs. 25 and less have been given to the tenants. Other government flats too will be transferred soon. The deeds for

vesting ownership of the Bambalapitiya flats on their tenants are now being prepared. Some of the houses in schemes to be completed soon will shortly be on sale.

Mr. Wijesena said they would persuade employers to build houses or give housing loans to their employees. "Such investment is tax free. We hope the companies will do it voluntarily. If they fail, I feel we should levy a housing tax from them and pass it to the employees", he said.

"This plan involves the transformation of the NHDA into a catalyst which draws the people into constructing their own houses. This plan will help us to achieve the million houses goal without requiring the NHDA in building all those houses" Mr. Jayawardene said.

SRI LANKA

BRIEFS

TULF WILL NOT JOIN CAMPAIGN--The Tamil United Libtration Front (TULF) will not join the proposed common opposition front to campaign against the extension of the life of the present Parliament, a TULF spokesman said yesterday. 'The TULF leaders will not address any of the joint meetings' he said. He said the TULF would hold separate public meetings in the northern and eastern provinces and ask the people to vote 'No' at the referendum. It is expected the TULF parliamentary group that meets on Friday would confirm this decision the spokesman said. [Text] [Colombo DAILY NEWS in English 9 Nov 82 p 1]

CSO: 4200/128

## THAILAND

### EDITORIAL QUESTIONS BOT OPTIMISM ON ECONOMY

Bangkok MATUPHUM in Thai 29 Sep 82 p 4

[Editorial: "A Glance At the Thai Economy"]

[Text] After the Bank of Thailand recently expressed pride in the Thai economy, saying that the monetary and banking situation is fifth in the world, a group of scholars held a seminar on economic problems and national security. This seminar was held at the Information Center, Chulalongkorn University.

As for what resulted from this seminar, even though the results were not completely opposite to what the Bank of Thailand claimed, there are things that we must all give attention to and be concerned about.

The former minister of economic affairs, who took part in this seminar, said that, today, there is a worrisome reliance on foreign countries and this is continually increasing. Even though it is sometimes possible to mobilize capital domestically, we borrow money from abroad.

A professor from the Faculty of Economics, Chulalongkorn University, who participated in the seminar said that economic development during the past 20 years has been characterized by increasing international participation. The changes in the economic structure have been made in order to satisfy the desire of the transnational corporations to move their production bases.

The same professor said that this trend has resulted in the Thai economy becoming less self-reliant concerning monetary matters, trade and technology.

At the same time, concerning the important industries, the trend has been for investors from transnational corporations to gain greater influence over these industries.

This is the economic situation as seen by educated Thais who have been in government and who have seen a reality that is different from that portrayed in foreign journals, which have obtained their data at a distance. Also, the Bank of Thailand is still trying to conceal things and this has made it impossible for us to see ourselves and has misled us.

We don't want to talk about economic matters in order to beat anyone or hurt anyone's feelings. What we have constantly tried to do is to have us take a "hard and honest" look at ourselves so that we can find a way to solve the problems.

What we are faced with today is just what the scholars said, that is, we are not self-reliant.

The fact that we must rely on the great powers has made us less independent and free in making political policies.

But if we are not self-reliant economically, we must "use someone else's nose to breathe with." What is there to be proud of?

And while some people are praising us for our good monetary and economic position, the majority of the people are still very poor. And so will such praise be of any benefit?

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THAILAND

ATHIT TO CONSIDER REAPPOINTMENT OF 'YOUNG TURKS'

Bangkok MATUPHUM in Thai 30 Sep 82 pp 1, 12

[Article: Around 10 Young Turks To Be Reappointed Next January; Athit to Receive Positions At Grand Ceremony"]

[Excerpt] Athit will definitely consider reappointing the young turks next January. Officers of the rank of (speical) colonel have no chance of being reappointed. Only about 10 will be reappointed. Prayut will turn over the position of RTA CINC and director of communist activities suppression operations to Athit today (30 September) at a grand ceremony.

A high-level news source in the army told MATUPHUM that in January 1983, General Athit Kamlangek, the new RTA CINC will consider the reappointment of the young soldiers, or young turks, who took part in the rebellion of 1-3 April 1981. There are about 30 such poeple and none of them have returned to government service. This has been greatly criticized by people in various circles.

The news source said that, concerning this matter, it is General Athit's policy to consider this so that things are just. But after considering things, those officers of the rank of (special) colonel will not have a chance to be reinstated since there are no positions for them. These positions have all been filled. Only those of the rank of colonel and below can be reinstated.

As for the number of those whom it will be possible to reappoint, it is expected that only about 10 will be reappointed. Most of these are officers who took part in the events of 1-3 April since they could not avoid doing so and had to obey their superiors. Most of these officers had ranks ranging from lieutenant Colonel on down to lieutenant.

The news source said that those who have no chance of being reappointed include those officers of the rank of special colonel and those officers who had opposed General Athit. As examples, the news source gave the names of several people who have no chance at all of being reappointed. These include (Special) Colonel Prachak Sawangchit, (Special) Colonel Manun Rupkhachon, (Special) Colonel Phanlop Pinmani, Lieutenant Colonel Bunyang Bucha and Major Sanchai Bunthariksawat.



An officer close to General Athit told MATUPHUM that General Athit had considered bringing up this matter for discussion several times. But he had to stop thinking about it when some of the young turks attacked him verbally at various places.

"After January next year, I can assure you that this matter will be considered," said this officer.

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NATURE OF HAN-ATHIT RELATIONS ANALYZED

Bangkok SIAM MAI in Thai 2 Oct 82 pp 17-20

[Article: "The Army In 1982-1983, the Two Ideological Poles"]

[Text] "If I am disappointed, I must keep it to myself. I have not lost hope. Although I have not been transferred, I still have work to do. There are problems to be solved. At the national level, I am just a commanding general and cannot solve any of the problems since those are national affairs. Things are very complex," said Lieutenant General Han Linanon, the commanding general of the Fourth Army Area, on 20 September when he came to take part in a ceremony in which the supreme commander entrusted control over an engineer battalion to the RTA. This clearly shows that he was not very happy about this year's reshuffle.

Also, prior to this and just after the reshuffle, the weekly journal CHAT ATHIPATAI, which is known to have ties with General Han, harshly criticized this year's reshuffle in the army. This journal said that this year's reshuffle gave greater weight to seniority than to ability and that dictators still had influence in the army. The "brains of some have ceased working. For example, they have never shown an interest in Policy 66/1980 and they do not have a policy in their work." This is a strong criticism.

Athit-Han, the Clash Between Two Poles

One eruption in the conflict may well arise from the fact that Colonel Chalut Niyomthai was transferred from another region to serve as the chief of staff of the Fourth Army Area in place of Major General Wanchai Chitchamnong, who was promoted to deputy commander of the Fourth Army Area. What is important is that Lieutenant General Han had to remain in his present position even though he had very much hoped to take control of army planning. And in the original "plan," Lieutenant General Han had been given the position of army chief of staff. Also, there was great hope of making Lieutenant General Han a "lever" next year.

"Lieutenant General Han was not hoping for any position. But if he had been promoted to army chief of staff, this would have given him a greater role so that he could help the army make real progress in accord with Policy 66/1980. But as for the results in the upper echelons of the army, it is clear that

the good trend in the army has been reversed and that the old path is being followed again," said a colonel who is a member of the Democratic Soldiers group to SIAM MAI.

"The new RTA CINC is a 'military-leads-politics' type person," said Colonel Prchak Sawangchit, a young turk, concerning the thinking of General Athit. "The new way of thinking of Lieutenant General Han is correct. But now, it looks as if it will be difficult to spread such ideas," said Colonel Prachak concerning this trend.

Originally, it is believed that relations between General Athit and Lieutenant General Han were based on a foundation of temporary friendship during a period in which each side was building up greater potential and in which it was not yet time to settle the basic ideological differences of the groups. But during this year's reshuffle, on one front, the potential of each side began to unfold to the point where they began to crowd each other. Lieutenant General Han is an important chess piece that General Prem, the present and future prime minister, has readied in order to serve as a balance and as a new base who seems more secure than General Athit. This is the point of separation in the relations between Lieutenant General Han and General Athit.

On the morning of the same day that Lieutenant General Han's "hopes were dashed" and he expressed his dissatisfaction about the reshuffle, Lieutenant General Han talked about the policies for fighting the communists. He said that it is time to abolish the Communist Activities Act.

At the same time, General Athit said that this is the personal opinion of Lieutenant General Han. People do not all have the same view.

"This is a concrete expression of the difference in thinking. Since the power holder in the army thinks like this, things will become more and more oppressive," said one of the Democratic Soldiers to SIAM MAI.

#### The New Army Appearance, the Military Leads Politics

It is thought that, on one hand, the army during the time of General Athit will be characterized by a greater concentration of power. On the other hand, the two paths in the army will move even farther apart.

Because of [General Athit's] rather strong personality, since he has reached the top position in the army legally and completely and since he has adjusted himself to the new position and feels comfortable in the position, all power in the army will once again begin to flow into the hands of the RTA CINC after a long period in which such a situation had not been present. This has not been the case since the time of General Krit Siwara.

General Athit has not yet given up his position as commander of the Bangkok Peace-Keeping Command, and he is still serving as the director of the Bangkok Peace-Keeping Directorate. This is the case even though the position of commander of the Bangkok Peace-Keeping Command should go to the commanding general of the

First Army Area. But the commanding general of the First Army Area, Major General Phat Urailoet, has been given only the position of commander of the army contingent of the Bangkok Peace-Keeping Command and commands only the Narasing Special Combat Unit. And by position, this position belongs to the commander of the 1st Division. All this shows that "almost all real power is being concentrated in the hands of General Athit."

And immediately after he was appointed [RTA CINC], General Athit quickly began to show his power.

Mobile military police units equipped with motorcycles were mobilized to patrol the streets and lanes. Operations forces of the police were forced to participate in the operations in conjunction with the military forces in the name of the Bangkok Peace-Keeping Command.

Under This "Sun" [Athit], There Is Nothing That the Military Cannot Do

The operation that closed off the Wang Burapha area for more than 7 hours and the indiscriminate search of 81 gun shops on 17 September has been widely criticized, including remarks about the resoluteness of the Bangkok Peace-Keeping director and the "real slap in the face to the Police Department."

A news source in the First Army Area told SIAM MAI that, concerning the search of the Wang Burapha area, even though General Athit later said that the police had asked for help, this operation was initiated by an order sent directly from the Bangkok Peace-Keeping Directorate to the Police Department. The Police Department was ordered to send a force to join with the military police. A joint force composed of 100 suppression officials, 100 commandos and 40 military policemen was formed. A news source in the Police Department said that this pointed to the poor image of the Police Department, which is incapable of handling the problem of illegal weapons. And it was common knowledge that these gun shops were in cahoots with the police in this area.

"Concerning the image of the Police Department during the time of Police Lieutenant General Narong, a member of Class 5, there is the example of Police Lieutenant General Banthoeng Kampanatsaenyakon, who was held back. The police Department has become so inefficient that it has had to have the military come and lend support. This is a very interesting matter," said a news source. "It is not certain how many more times this will occur before people begin to see the efficiency of the Bangkok Peace-Keeping Command. And when that happens, the Police Department may have to make changes," said the news source.

Similarly, high-ranking police officials have begun to talk about the efforts of Class 5 to take control of the Police Department. There was a serious struggle during this year's reshuffle. But because of the resoluteness shown by Police General Suraphon Chunlaphrom, Class 5 found itself in a difficult position in the Police Department. But now, since Class 5 has risen to power in the army and the army has begun to play a greater role than the Police Department, it is believed that Class 5's power in the Police Department may soon be restored.

## What Type of Democracy In the Eyes of Athit?

General Athit has stated that he will support democracy. But the interesting question is what type of democracy he has in mind.

Several scholars who have followed the role of General Athit believe that the democracy of General Athit is not a democracy that will promote democracy among the people. In particular, the faith in a parliamentary system is viewed by General Athit as almost worthless. This could be seen when General Athit received an invitation to speak at Chiang Mai University on the topic "The Country's Present Situation and the Role of the Students In National Security" on 15 November 1981.

At one point when he was asked about military interference in politics, General Athit said that the military has only acted in accord with its powers and duties. [He said that] the military is only watching over the country to maintain order and that it is also watching over the government. "It has not interfered; but if there is some disturbance, it must look after things. But this does not mean looking after things in parliament but rather outside parliament," said General Athit clearly.

After General Athit was appointed RTA CINC, there were rumors that there would not be election in 1983. And there is still much activity aimed at extending parliament's term. There are still some political groups and some senators who have called for parliament's term to be extended.

Actually, it seems that the position of parliament has begun to crumble since the appointment of the new RTA CINC. General Prem Tinsulanon, the representative of the parliamentary political powers, no longer has a secure military base.

Concerning General Prem, "the man without political ambitions," the more he keeps his political attitudes to himself along with the political decisions, the more difficult things will become since rumors are cropping up about a new prime minister in the future.

One military news source said that after beginning to show off his skills with the operation in Wang Burapha, there are rumors that the next group targeted by General Athit is the influential gamblers, who are involved with many of the politicians. During this period, these politicians are quickly increasing their incomes in order to make full preparations for the big election.

It is this that has caused politicians to start questioning whether, in addition to building an image superior to that of the Police Department, the next target will be the "MPs in parliament."

## The RTA In 1982, the Two Ideological Poles

It can be said that General Athit, whose basic thinking leans toward "conservatism," has stepped forward at a time when the ideas of Lieutenant General Han's group have begun to "bloom" widespreadly and at a time when the "rightist reform"

group of Lieutenant General Han has failed to step into important positions along with the conservatives such as Lieutenant General Sup Aksaranukhro, who shot forward to become the deputy RTA CINC, and Lieutenant General Pathom Soemsin, who became the assistant RTA CINC.

The commanding generals of three of the army areas who belong to the same ideological group, that is, Lieutenant General Phat Minakanit, the commanding general of the Second Army Area, Lieutenant General Phrom Phiunuan, the commanding general of the Third Army Area, and Lieutenant General Han Linanon, the commanding general of the Fourth Army, have gotten "stuck" in their present positions.

Also, those in the intelligence line, most of whom are in the same ideological group as Lieutenant General Han, have been shunted off into Supreme Command Headquarters. Such men include Lieutenant General Phinyo Watcharathet and Lieutenant General Chaloei Sanguansak.

It has also been observed that Colonel Suchinda Khraprayun, the right-hand man of General Athit in political activities who started the civilian game in the newspapers and who became the new director of the army Operations Directorate in place of Major General Chawalit Yongchaiyut, is not deeply opposed to Chawalit and their paths are not too different.

Concerning this year's military reshuffle, an officer in Lieutenant General Han's group said in conclusion that many of the officers who were promoted do not understand or are not familiar with Policy 66/1980 at all. What is important is that dictatorship will continue to reign supreme in the army.

At a time when the conservatives have gained tighter control over the army, the groups such as that of Lieutenant General Han that have a somewhat different ideology have begun to show clearly that there is a conflict. These two ideologies will continue to struggle against each other for supremacy in the army as long as the structure of the army provides a way to gain influence over everything in the country.

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DEBATE OVER CPT LEGALIZATION CONTINUES

Bangkok SIAM MAI in Thai 9 Oct 82 pp 17-20

[Article: "Repeal the Communist Act to Lure the CPT Into the Cities"]

[Text] "Pressure is being exerted to have Policy 66/1980 score real results at the upper echelons."

"The role of Order 65/1982, which has caused conflicts at the upper echelons, is declining and will gradually fade away completely."

"Pressure is being exerted to repeal the Communist Activities Act."

The above movements in the strategy to defeat the communists at the national level are being carried on urgently in order to launch a continuous offensive against the CPT in the situation in which the government has gained the advantage over the CPT.

Suggestions About the Revolutionary War, the Situation Has Not Changed

At the Kittikhachon conference hall, Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy, there was great activity among the soldiers who were holding a conference to evaluate the results of fighting to defeat the communists during the last 6 months of fiscal year 1982, which ended in September. Four months earlier, that is, on 12 May, the government and national army held a major conference in order to announce that the "CPT has lost the revolutionary war on all fronts."

"The government wants to confirm that it has won the revolutionary war," said Lieutenant General Prayun Bunnak, the then assistant army chief of staff (who is now the new deputy army chief of staff) in summarizing the results of the major conference, which was attended by a total of 850 people, including representatives from the army areas, ISOC officials, officials from the three branches of the service, representatives from the Ministry of Interior, provincial governors from all over the country and cabinet members.

The new deputy army chief of staff said that there are serious splits within the CPT. The CPT is not capable of waging a revolutionary war or toppling the government using armed force. The present situation is one of terrorism

but this can be controlled. The government is urgently getting the people to cooperate and is quickly giving more rights and freedoms to the people.

Similarly, Major General Chawalit Yongchaiyut, the then director of the Army Operations Directorate (and now the new assistant army chief of staff) talked about the principles that must be implemented urgently. These concern the people's rights and freedoms, which is another step in the strategy to defeat the communists.

An official who participated in the conference told SIAM MAI that, at the conference, Major General Chawalit proposed that the democracy of the masses be promoted in order to force the communists to shift from an armed struggle to a peaceful [struggle]. Major General Chawalit talked about the principle of promoting the freedom of the masses. He said that, in practice, the laws are still destroying freedom and that the freedoms that must be promoted do not have any guarantees since there are laws prohibiting things. For example, if the communist laws continue to be used, this will pose a danger to the democratic movement in general, and some of the laws abridge the freedoms directly and seriously.

It is believed that this statement by Major General Chawalit at this conference was aimed at paving the way for revising or repealing the Communist Activities Act. Officers in this group, particularly Lieutenant General Han Linanon, have clearly said that it must be repealed.

#### Repealing the Communist Activities Act, the Second Stage of the Strategy

Major General Chawalit told a reporter that the government, through the army, which is the main apparatus, has formulated three steps in the struggle to defeat the communists. These are:

The first step is to win the war.

The second step is to destroy what is evil and correct and improve what is incorrect. The government has now reached this step and is destroying the CPT using peaceful means.

The third step is to defeat the communists completely with a profound ideology.

An officer who is a member of the Democratic Soldiers group told SIAM MAI that during the second step, that is, forcing the CPT to carry on the struggle using peaceful means, the Communist Activities Act must be repealed and during the next stage, they must be allowed to form a legal communist party in the cities. That will be the final stage in the struggle against the communists using a profound ideology.

"In 1983, we will see the CPT leave the jungle and wage a peaceful struggle. The other related problems are all minor problems," said Major General Chawalit to the mass media.



"If the Communist Activities Act is repealed, will some other act replace it?" asked a reporter. "We already have such measures. But you must wait first. If I say anything, secrecy will be lost. We favor waging a peaceful struggle. Stated openly, we have made full preparations. There are no other problems," said Major General Chawalit in response.

[Order] 65/1982, Resolving the Conflict

A news source at the RTA Operations Center told SIAM MAI that Order 65/1982, which was issued on 27 May but which General Athit Kamlangek did not reveal publically until the middle of July, is now facing various objections. Some high-level officials are opposed to this order. It may have to be revised or even rescinded.

"Looking closely at the statement made on the 27th at the military academy, in one section Chiu spoke about Order 65. He said that it is not a perfect order," said the news source. He also said that at the end of July, after the news of Order 65/1982 had just been released, the director of the Army Operations Directorate was interviewed by the mass media when he went to describe the national security problem at the Government house. When reporters asked about Order 65/1982, Major General Chawalit said that he did not know why this order had been issued since he was not the person who had drafted this law. He had only been involved in drafting Policy 66/1980. Also, Major General Chawalit revealed the part played by Police Lieutenant Chan Manutham, the minister of the Office of the Prime Minister, in changing the name of the CPT from the Communist Party of Thailand to the Communists In Thailand. He said that "I don't know much about this. You must go ask Minister Chan since he may have done this for the fun of it. Or the Office of the Prime Minister may have felt that a political offensive was being launched and wanted to take part too. Or they may not have known what to do."

"There has been great slowness in revealing things. This can be seen from how long it has taken to declassify some of the secret documents," said an officer in the ISOC. Also, among officers involved in communist suppression operations, these days, it is frequently said that, in the upper echelons, an order has already been issued to rescind this order and to forbid [people] from announcing the results of the operations carried on in accord with this order.

However, the officer at the RTA Operations Center told SIAM MAI that the stories of a dispute among high-level officials about this order are true. But because this order was issued in order to expand on Policy 66/1980, in practice, there may be a way out by revising the order. It is not necessary to rescind the order since this would have a bad effect on the image of the government and national army. "Chiu has clearly stated that he was not involved in the formulation of the order and that he feels that this order has many weaknesses," said the same officer.

## The Security Act, In Front of a Grand Stage

It is believed that if the Communist Activities Act really is repealed, there will have to be some new law promulgated to give support. "This new law promulgated to give support will probably differ very little from the original law. Only some of the articles, the name and the wording will be changed. It will be the same as in 1975 during the time of the Khukrit government when many appeals were made. The government made preparations to repeal the act and put a new security act in its place. This was criticized as just being old wine in a new bottle and so the matter died down. But I am not sure about now. The new army leader may draft a new law that is more democratic than the one used then. But I think that most of the original principles will be retained since the aim of this law is to eliminate the CPT. The only thing is that it will [try to] induce the [communists] to come out in order to deal with them more easily in the cities," said a lawyer who is an expert on communist law in analyzing things.

And it is believed that the new security law will have to include the basic principle of crushing the CPT. A high-ranking officer stated that this must respond to the strategy used in the areas where the CPT is now active. "Things must be very detailed about the armed movement in the cities too."

As for the next stage, a news source who is close to the director of the Army Operations Directorate said that preparations have been made to revise the laws. As Major General Chawalit said at the national conference, these are laws that violate the basic principle of increasing [people's] rights and freedoms. Included in this are some sections of the constitution, the political parties law and the election law. "Preparations have been made to allow the communists to form a legal party in the cities. This is the next step in crushing the CPT," said the news source.

However, whether this offensive to crush the CPT succeeds depends on the real situation of the CPT at present. As for whether the CPT has lost the war completely, past lessons, in which the CPT was in much worse shape than it is now but still managed to recover and attack the government by being the side that launched a political offensive, show that "politics" is the most important thing. These are very interesting lessons. It seems that luring the tiger out of the jungle in order to surround and attack it in the city depends on many other factors before it becomes a reality. Also, the lack of unity in high echelons, where the problems are viewed differently, will hold things back.

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## THAILAND

### ORGANIZATION, POLITICAL BACKGROUND OF BANGKOK PEACE-KEEPING COMMAND NOTED

Bangkok SU ANAKHOT in Thai 26 Sep-2 Oct 82 pp 16, 17

[Article: "The Bangkok Peace-Keeping Command, From Athit to Thianchai"]

[Text] Not only has the top position in the army been grabbed by General Athit Kamlangek, but the Bangkok Peace-Keeping Command, which guards against violent events and which, in particular, opposes those thinking about starting a revolution, has implicitly fallen under the control of General Athit too.

General Athit recently said that beginning on 1 October, he will be responsible for everything, including being the director of the Peace-Keeping Directorate, which is a position that automatically goes to the RTA CINC, and being the commander of the Bangkok Peace-Keeping Command, a position that he was given after the events of 1 April.

Originally, there was only the position of Bangkok Peace-Keeping Director, who was responsible for keeping the peace in Bangkok Metropolitan and the four surrounding provinces -- Pathumthani, Samut Prakan, Nonthaburi and Nakhon Pathom. The unit was formed in accord with the National Peace-Keeping Act. The supreme commander, now General Saiyut Koetphon, was responsible for [keeping the peace in] the other provinces.

In the past, the director of the Bangkok Peace-Keeping Directorate had legal power only to order forces to keep the peace in the area of responsibility. If he was separated from his own forces, things were slow and inefficient during times of unexpected disturbances. Also, the people holding this position were often leaders of or participants in the coups. The idea of forming a force that could be ordered to take control of a situation quickly arose in order to control the movements of the young turks after their recent coup attempt failed.

Concerning the activities of the Bangkok Peace-Keeping Command, the only commander of which has been General Athit, during the past year it has carried on activities following rumors of coups and the military reshuffles. Whenever there have been such rumors or activities, the Bangkok Peace-Keeping Command, which is composed of army, navy and air force personnel, policemen and civilians who are responsible for the capital, has been the first unit ordered to make preparations.

The 1st Division, which is now commanded by Major General Phichit Kunlawanit, is considered to be the main unit of the army and of the Command. It has frequently been used to preserve order whenever the political or military situation has approached a crisis. When commanders became suspicious, the homes of some of the young turks were surrounded last October by units of the Bangkok Peace-Keeping Command, particularly the 1st Long-Range Reconnaissance Unit, which is under the command of the 1st Division. That time, the unit received a direct order from General Athit.

The special company known as the "Narasing Unit," which is a rapid-deployment unit composed of infantry, cavalry and engineer forces armed with rifles, tanks, armored vehicles and motorcycles and which is a mobile unit just like the thahan phran irregulars, was formed last August in order to strengthen the Bangkok Peace-Keeping Command. This unit was called into action shortly after a grenade was thrown at the home of General Prem.

As for the command structure of the Bangkok Peace-Keeping Command, originally, the commander of this force had the authority to order [forces] to undertake the first two steps, that is, to gather information and take defensive action. As for the other two steps, that is, using forces and returning them to their bases, this could be ordered only by the director of the Bangkok Peace-Keeping Directorate. But since General Athit has become the director in place of General Prayut Charumni, who has retired, he has the power to order all four steps. However, General Athit has said that second to him are deputy commanders of the various forces. The army force will be commanded by Major General Phat Urailoet, the new commanding general of the First Army Area.

As for the remaining forces, Vice Admiral Amnuai Yiemsuro, the commander of the Bangkok Naval Station, is the commander of the naval component. Air Marshal Chakon Thattanon, the commander of the RTAF Security Force, is the commander of the air force component. Police Lieutenant General Suwan Rattanachun, the deputy director-general of the Police Department for Special Activities is the head of the police component. The civilian component will be headed by a person with the rank of director-general; as yet, no one has been appointed to this position.

A SU ANAKHOT military news source said that, actually, the appointment of five deputy commanders is not a new change in the structure since there were previously people responsible. The only thing is that ranks were raised in order to make the positions more official. "It is like Supreme Command Headquarters, which has made the commanders in chief of the armed services deputy supreme commanders. Making them deputies will give them greater prestige."

As for the position of commander of the Bangkok Peace-Keeping Command, it is thought that General Athit will hold on to this position for a time. Because if he gives up this position to someone else and keeps only the position of Bangkok Peace-Keeping director for himself, it is only natural that distrust will arise. "General Athit was entrusted with this position and he can remain in this position. Since he is now the RTA CINC too, he can solve the problems at all levels," said the news source before revealing that, when the

time comes, this position will be entrusted to General Thianchai Sirisamphan, the deputy RTA CINC for personnel.

"General Thianchai is the person whom he trusts the most. But if he [Thianchai] does not get the position, it will probably go to the new commanding general of the First Army Area, although this is less likely," said the same news source. Another news source said that this all depends on General Athit, who can give this position to anyone he wants. If the position is not held by the RTA CINC, it should go to the commanding general of the First Army Area. "He will not delegate it to General Thianchai since Thianchai is not familiar with this unit. He moved from the Special Warfare Center to become the deputy director of the Territorial Defense Department," said the other news source in disagreement.

Besides this, the position of director of communist suppression activities is another position that is likely to go to General Athit after he officially takes over from General Prayut Charumni, who was entrusted with this position by General Prem Tinsulanon a month ago. Observers feel that this position will be given to General Athit. But some news sources have said that this is probably a game to offset the power of General Athit, with General Prem intentionally using General Prayut as a counterweight.

"General Prayut will definitely have to turn this position over to General Athit after he retires. Around 5 or 6 October, we will know for sure, unless Prem decides to take the position himself like before. At present, no agreement has been reached." A news source under General Athit confirmed that this position will definitely go to his boss.

But some of the positions that he holds will have to be entrusted to others. Otherwise, the "little Sarit" image will become even clearer.

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NEWLY FORMED ARMY UNITS STILL NOT MANNED

Bangkok MATUPHUM in Thai 25 Sep 82 pp 1, 12

[Article: "Military Confirms That Army Will Grow In Accord With the Fifth Development Plan; All Divisions Will Be Reinforced to Make Them Combat Ready"]

[Text] The military has confirmed that, in accord with the Fifth Development Plan, all divisions throughout the country will be at full strength. Four divisions will train reservists discharged from active duty so that they are combat ready. The First Army Area will withdraw its main-force units, leaving only one company in the infiltrated areas.

Major General Wanchai Ruongtrakun, the chief of staff of the First Army Area, talked with MATUPHUM about the personnel rates of the Royal Thai Army in defending the country. He said that, in accord with the Fifth National Economic and Social Development Plan, the military has participated with economists in making plans. And in accord with its Fifth Development Plan, the army has created another division, that is, the 1st Special Combat Division at Lop Buri.

The chief of staff of the First Army Area said that the military feels that economic development must proceed hand in hand with the development of the military forces, and it is keeping an eye on the threats from abroad, especially the threat from Vietnam. Thus, in accord with the Fifth Development Plan, all of the divisions throughout the country will be reinforced so that they each have their full complement of men. As for the First Army Area, definite plans have been made to strengthen the regiments in the 2nd and 9th divisions. As for the 1st Division, it is already at full strength.

At the same time, Colonel Narutdon Detpradiyut, the secretary-general of the army, talked with MATUPHUM about why the divisions that were formed in 1981, that is, the 11th Division (First Army Area), the 12th Division (Second Army Area) and the 15th and 16th divisions (Fourth Army Area), are not yet at full strength. He said that these divisions will be responsible for training the reservists who have been discharged from active duty. This will put the reservists in a position of constant combat readiness. And these divisions have the same complement of officials and the same buildings as the other divisions.

Concerning the withdrawal of main forces from the infiltrated areas in the First Army Area, Major General Wanchai said that the First Army Area is trying to increase the civilian forces to replace these forces. These civilian forces include Regional Security Volunteers, thahan phran irregulars and members of the Volunteer Defense Corps. In 1982, the First Army Area has only one main-force company left in these areas. It will remain stationed there in order to watch over the projects in the royal plan for the Banthat mountain range along the border between Nakhon Ratchasima, Buriram and Prachin Buri provinces. All the other units will be withdrawn.

Major General Wanchai gave his opinion on the nationwide terrorist activities of the communist terrorists. He said that even though the government has scored a victory at one level, the fighting will continue since the communist terrorists will probably continue to carry on guerrilla operations.

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3RD ARMY AREA DEPUTY COMMANDER PROFILED

Bangkok LAK THAI in Thai 30 Sep 82 pp 16, 17

[Article: "Major General Ruamsak Chaikomin, Four Positions In 4 Years"]

[Text] Concerning the reshuffle of senior officers on 11 September, one "general" who was talked about a lot in the newspapers and in military circles as being a general from a class that is "going places" and that is worth keeping an eye on is Major General Ruamsak Chaikomin, who was promoted from commander of the 4th Division, Third Army Area, to deputy commander of the Third Army Area. It should come as no surprise that this divisional commander was promoted to deputy commander of the army area since the commander of the 6th Division, Major General Phisit Mobut, was promoted to deputy commander of the Second Army Area. This is in his line of command, unlike the case of Lieutenant General Phrom Phiunuan, the present commanding general of the Third Army Area who was unexpectedly promoted from commander of the 4th Division to commanding general last year without first having served as deputy commanding general. But as for Major General Ruamsak Chaikomin, whom people are talking about quite a lot, one thing worth noting is that this general served as a divisional commander for only 1 year before being promoted to deputy commander of an army area. Normally, a divisional commander must serve in this position for 2 or 3 years before being promoted.

Major General Ruamsak Chaikomin has a government service record that is worth looking at because just a few years ago it seemed that he was being promoted every year. That is, from deputy head of the Special Warfare School at the Lop Buri Phra Narai Camp, he was transferred to the north and made deputy commander of the 4th Division, which is a position for a (special) colonel. Following that, he was promoted to [major] general and made commander of the Chiang Mai Military District. After serving in that position for 1 year, he was made commander of the 4th Division last year. And this year he was promoted to deputy commander of the Third Army Area.

Before entering the command line in the Third Army Area, Major General Ruamsak once served in the area under the control of the Third Army Area. During the time he was deputy head of the Special Warfare School, he served as the deputy commander of Civilian-Police-Military Unit 1617 in Lom Sak District, Phetchabun Province. This unit was responsible for suppressing communist terrorists in the area along the border of Phitsanulok, Phetchabun and Loei provinces. He



is the person who named this civilian-police-military camp the "King Pha Muang Camp" after King Pha Muang, who was a friend of King Si Intharathit, the first of the Sukhothai kings. He [Ruamsak] fought in his area of responsibility bravely many times and was honored by the Third Army Area, which was then commanded by Lieutenant General Somsak Panchamanon. In particular, he commanded a paratrooper unit that parachuted into combat to the north of "Hin Rong Kla," which was the first operation in which all the troops used were paratroopers. This general also commanded a group of paratroopers who went into action in Na Kae District, Nakhon Phanom Province, by making a parachute jump during the middle of the night in 1965, which was the first time that paratroopers were used in combat in Thailand. And it was Major General Ruamsak who was the first soldier to gain much experience in making parachute jumps. That is, he was the first one to make many jumps.

Major General Ruamsak was the first one to carry on psychological operations in order to make friends with the hill tribes. This was when he was the commander of the 1st Special Combat (Paratroop) Unit, or "Pa Wai Paratroop" unit. This unit took part in communist suppression activities that were carried out in the area along the border between the three provinces in 1969. He was the leader of several dozen Maeo, Yao and Lisu youths who went to study at Lop Buri. He let them stay at his house in Pa Wai, and he loved them like his own children. At present, many of Major General Ruamsak's "children" from the mountains have graduated as teachers and many are sergeants in the army. He was greatly praised by the army for this. He also built the "Khamrop Sosutham School" in remembrance of Master Sergeant Khamrop Sosutham, a paratrooper who was killed in fierce fighting at Ban Pa Yap in Nakhon Thai District, Phitsanulok Province. He established this school so that Maeo tribesmen could receive an education just like Thais in the plains.

Major General Ruamsak Chaikomin is a member of Army Preparatory School Class 7. On graduating from the army academy, he began his career at the Prachak Silapakhom Camp in Udorn Thani Province. After just 1 year, he joined the paratrooper unit, which at that time was a battalion under the command of the Infantry Center. He served as a paratrooper until he became the commander of the Special Battalion at the Sarit Sena Camp in Wang Thong District, Phitsanulok Province. This was a battalion formed by Field Marshal Sarit Thanarat to carry out very secret missions. This battalion was composed of both army and police paratroopers. After serving as the commander of the special battalion, he became the commander of the 1st Special Combat (Paratrooper) Unit, "Pa Wai Paratroop Unit, in place of Major General Enek Bunyathi, the present commander of the Special Warfare Center. And he was the one who asked the king for permission to name this camp the "Wachiralongkon Camp." Also, he built the military museum. Following that, he became the deputy commander of the Special Warfare School. After giving up his Red Beret, he became the deputy commander of the 4th Division, as was mentioned.

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